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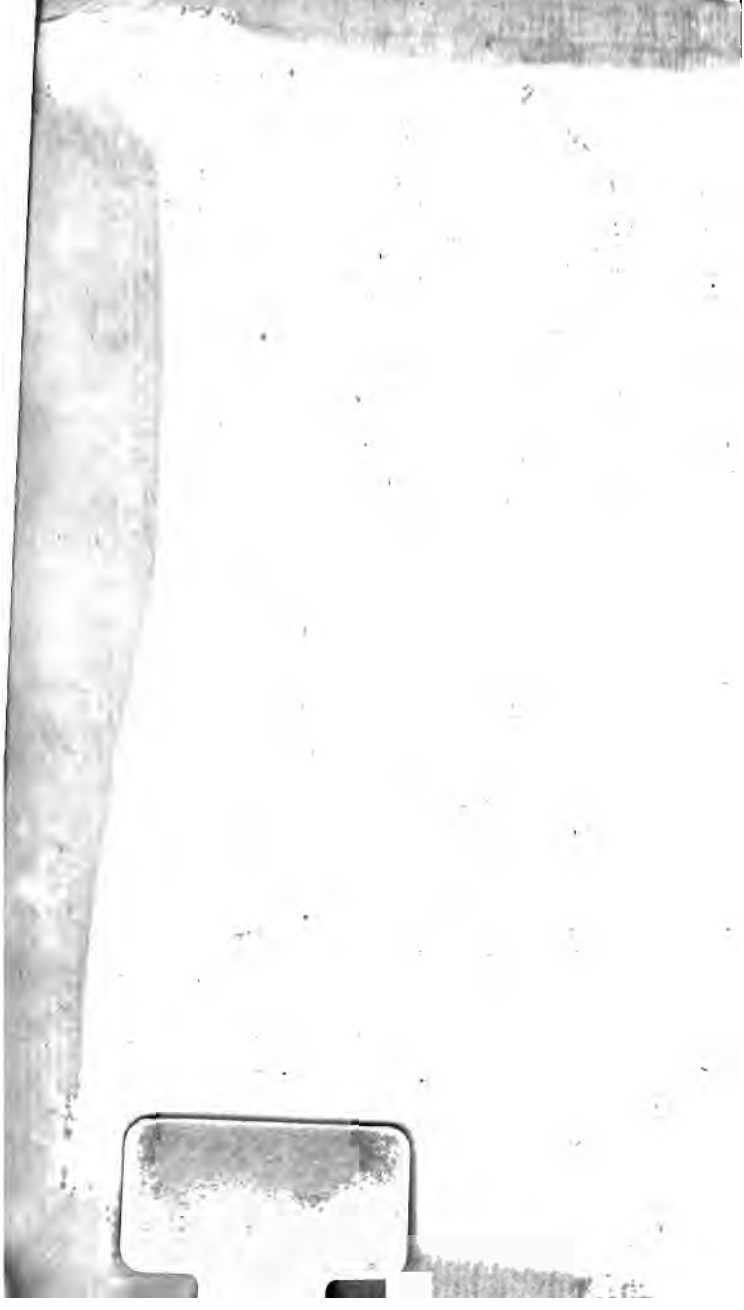

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D. D.
AND WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M. A.

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PLUTARCH's

LIVES.

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS *, the ſon of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedemonians with a very reſpectable character, left behind him two ſons; the one named Agis, whom he had by † Lampito, a woman of an illuſtrious family; the other much younger, named Ageſilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Meliſſippidas. As the crown, by law, was to deſcend to Agis, Ageſilaus had nothing to expect but a private ſtation, and therefore had a common Lacedemonian education; which, though hard in reſpect of diet, and full of laborious exerciſes, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence, Simonides is ſaid to have called that famed city, *the man-ſubduing* Sparta, becauſe it was the principal tendency of her diſcipline to make the citizens obedient and ſubmiſſive to the laws; and ſhe trained her youth as the colt is trained to the menage. The law does not lay the young princes, who are educated for the throne, under the ſame neceſſity. But Ageſilaus was ſingular in this, that before he came to govern, he had learnt to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himſelf with a better grace to his ſubjects than any other of the kings; having added to his princely talents and inclinations, a humane manner and popular civility.

While he was yet in one of the claſſes, or ſocieties, of boys, Lyſander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans diſtinguiſh with the name of love.

* Archidamus II.

† Lampito, or Lampido, was ſiſter to Archidamus by the father's ſide. Vid. PLAT. ALCIBIAD.

He was charmed with his ingenuous modeſty. For, though he had a ſpirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to ſit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuoſity which could not be conquered or borne down, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleneſs, where it was neceſſary to obey. At the ſame time, it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear, but to a principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded diſgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg; but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the reſt of his perſon; and the eaſy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the firſt to rally himſelf upon it, always made it the leſs regarded. Nay, that defect made his ſpirit of enterpriſe more remarkable; for he never declined on that account any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

We have no portrait or ſtatue of him. He would not ſuffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aſpect. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulneſs, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expreſſed without any ſeverity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable even in age than the young and the handſome. Theophraſtus tells us, the *Ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will bring us," ſaid they, "a race of pygmies, in-"ſtead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedemon. And he had not been there long, before he was ſuſpected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child, which ſhe had, for his, but ſaid it was the ſon of Alcibiades. Duris informs us, that the queen was not diſpleaſed at the ſuppoſition, and that ſhe uſed to whiſper to her women, the child ſhould be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himſelf ſcrupled not to ſay, "He did not ap-"proach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an "ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta, leſt Agis ſhould revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with

an eye of ſuſpicion, did not take notice of him as a ſon. Yet, in his laſt ſickneſs, Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by his tears and entreaties, to acknowledge him as ſuch before many witneſſes.

Notwithſtanding this public declaration, Agis was no ſooner dead, than Lyſander, who had vanquiſhed the Athenians at ſea, and had great power and intereſt in Sparta, advanced Ageſilaus to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a baſtard, and conſequently had no right to it. Indeed, the generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Ageſilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the ſeverity of the Spartan diſcipline, joined with pleaſure in the ſcheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner, named Diopithes, well verſed in ancient prophecies, and ſuppoſed an able interpreter of every thing relating to the gods. This man inſiſted, it was contrary to the divine will, that a lame man ſhould ſit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was to be decided, he publicly read this oracle—

Beware, proud Sparta, leſt a * maimed empire
Thy boaſted ſtrength impair; far other woes
Than thou beheld'ſt, await thee—borne away
By the ſtrong tide of war———

Lyſander obſerving upon this, that if the Spartans were ſolicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas; for that heaven did not conſider it as a matter of importance, if the king happened to have a lame foot: The thing to be guarded againſt, was the admiſſion of a perſon who was not a genuine deſcendant of Hercules; for that would make the kingdom itſelf lame. Ageſilaus added, that Neptune had borne witneſs to the baſtardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake †; ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born; though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

* The two legs of the Spartan conſtitution were the two kings, which therefore muſt be in a maimed and ruined ſtate when one of them was gone. In fact, the conſequence produced not a juſt and good monarch, but a tyrant.

† See Xenophon, Grecian Hiſt. book iii.

By these ways and means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put in possession of the private estate of Agis; Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing, however, that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the estate among them; by which means the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

Xenophon tells us, that by obedience to the laws of his country, Agesilaus gained so much power, that his will was not disputed. The case was this. The principal authority was then in the hands of the *Ephori* and the senate. The *Ephori* were annual magistrates, and the senators had their office for life. They were both appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings, as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual disputes subsisted between them. But Lysander took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occasion; taking care, in all his enterprises, to set out under their auspices. If he was called, he went faster than usual: If he was upon his throne, administering justice, he rose up when the *Ephori* approached: If any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox *, as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown, through their support and attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct when they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, if his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathize with them, and ready to give them his assistance, if they desired

* Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

desired it. By these means he gained the hearts of all his people.

The *Ephori* saw this, and, in their fear of his increasing power, imposed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would cease, by reason of that perfect harmony; so the great lawgiver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous. He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the next proposal, without exploring each other's intentions, and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle, and deserved not the name of harmony *. Some imagine that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made † Agamemnon rejoice, when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some great benefit would arise to their affairs in general, from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without some exception; for violent dissensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of the greatest dangers.

Agesilaus had not been long seated on the throne, before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing a great fleet to dispossess the Lacedemonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be sent again into Asia, that he might support his friends whom he had left governors and masters of the cities, and many of whom, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, were banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the greatest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time he instructed his friends in Asia, to send deputies to Lacedemon, to desire Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

* Upon the same principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party disputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours.

† Odyssey, lib. viii.

Ageſilaus received their propoſals in full aſſembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him thirty Spartans for his officers and counſellors, a ſelect corps of two thouſand newly enfranchiſed *helots*, and ſix thouſand of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through the influence of Lyſander, and Ageſilaus ſent out with the thirty Spartans. Lyſander was ſoon at the head of this council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendſhip of Ageſilaus, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than the raiſing him to the throne.

While his forces were aſſembling at Geræſtus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and paſſing the night there, he dreamed that a perſon addreſſed him in this manner: "You are ſenſible that, ſince Agamemnon, none has "been appointed captain-general of all Greece, but your- "ſelf, the king of Sparta; and you are the only perſons "who have arrived at that honour. Since, therefore, "you command the ſame people, and go againſt the ſame "enemies with him, as well as take your departure from "the ſame place, you ought to propitiate the goddeſs with "the ſame ſacrifice, which he offered here before he ſail- "ed."

Ageſilaus at firſt thought of the ſacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the ſoothſayers. This circumſtance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the viſion to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddeſs with what a ſuperior Being might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to take pleaſure in, and not imitate the ſavage ignorance of his predeceſſor. In conſequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to his own ſoothſayer, with orders that he ſhould perform the ceremony, and not the perſon appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The firſt magiſtrates of Bœotia, incenſed at this innovation, ſent their officers to inſiſt that Ageſilaus ſhould not ſacrifice contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of Bœotia. And the officers not only gave him ſuch notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Ageſilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hopes of ſucceſs after ſuch an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his

his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not anſwer the intention.

When he came to Epheſus, the power and intereſt of Lyſander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that miniſter were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Ageſilaus had only the name and badges of command, to ſave the forms of law, and Lyſander had in fact the power, and all buſineſs were to paſs through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were ſent to Aſia, ever had greater ſway, or were more dreaded than he; none ever ſerved their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies ſo much. Theſe were things freſh in every one's memory; and when they compared alſo the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Ageſilaus, with the ſtern, the ſhort, and authoritative manner of Lyſander, they ſubmitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans firſt expreſſed their reſentment, becauſe that attention to Lyſander made them appear rather as his miniſters, than as counſellors to the king. Afterwards Ageſilaus himſelf was piqued at it. For, though he had no envy in his nature, or jealouſy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in aſſerting his claim to it. Beſides, he was apprehenſive that if any great action were performed, it would be imputed to Lyſander, on account of the ſuperior light in which he had ſtill been conſidered.

The method he took to obviate it, was this. His firſt ſtep was, to oppoſe the counſels of Lyſander, and to purſue meaſures different from thoſe, for which he was moſt earneſt. Another ſtep was to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the intereſt of that miniſter. In matters, too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, thoſe againſt whom Lyſander exerted himſelf, were ſure to gain their cauſe; and they for whom he appeared, could ſcarce eſcape without a fine. As theſe things happened not caſually, but conſtantly and of ſet purpoſe, Lyſander perceived the cauſe, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them, it was on his account they were diſgraced, and deſired them to pay their court to the king, and to thoſe who had greater intereſt with him than himſelf. Theſe proceedings ſeemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the

king: Ageſilaus, therefore, to mortify him ſtill more, appointed him his carver: and we are told, he ſaid before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court "to my carver."

Lyſander, unable to bear this laſt inſtance of contempt, ſaid, "Ageſilaus, you know very well how to leſſen your "friends." Ageſilaus anſwered, "I know very well who "want to be greater than myſelf." "But perhaps, ſaid "Lyſander, that has rather been ſo repreſented to you, "than attempted by me. Place me, however, where I "may ſerve you, without giving you the leaſt umbrage."

Upon this, Ageſilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Helleſpont, where he perſuaded Spithridates, a Perſian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a conſiderable treaſure, and two hundred horſe. Yet he retained his reſentment, and nouriſhing the remembrance of the affront he had received, conſidered how he might deprive the * two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta, and open the way to that high ſtation to all the citizens. And it ſeems that he would have raiſed great commotions in purſuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in his expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious ſpirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community. For if Lyſander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreaſonable avidity of honour, Ageſilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and ſpirit. But, under the influence of the ſame paſſion, the one knew not how to pay proper reſpect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At firſt Tiſaphernes was afraid of Ageſilaus, and undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws: but afterwards, thinking his ſtrength ſufficiently increaſed, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Ageſilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition †; and he conſidered it as a circumſtance which would reflect

* The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

† He told the Perſian ambaſſadors, "He was much obliged to their "maſter for the ſtep he had taken, ſince, by the violation of his oath, he "had made the gods enemies to Perſia, and friends to Greece."

fect diſhonour upon himſelf, that Xenophon could conduct ten thouſand Greeks from the heart of Aſia to the ſea, and beat the king of Perſia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he at the head of the Lacedemonians, who were maſters both at ſea and land, could not diſtinguiſh himſelf before the Greeks by ſome great and memorable ſtroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tiſaphernes by an artifice which juſtice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the Barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned ſhort, and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities; and made himſelf maſter of immenſe treaſures; by which he ſhowed his friends, that to violate a treaty, is to deſpiſe the gods; whilſt to deceive an enemy is not only juſt but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleaſure: but, as he was inferior in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Epheſus, to raiſe that ſort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to inſiſt that every man of ſubſtance, if he did not chooſe to ſerve in perſon, ſhould provide a horſe and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and, inſtead of a parcel of * indifferent combatants, ſuch as the rich would have made, he ſoon got a numerous and reſpectable cavalry. For thoſe who did not chooſe to ſerve at all, or not to ſerve as horſe, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he profeſſedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excuſed a daſtardly rich man the ſervice †.

One day he ordered his commiſſaries to ſell the priſoners, but to ſtrip them firſt. Their clothes found many

 purchaſers;

* Φιλων ἱππικων, the preſent corrupt reading, ſhould be altered from a paſſage in the Apophthegms (Ed.St. p. 569.) to ἀνδρων και πλουσιων. The paſſage is this — ὡς ταχυ συνηχθησαν και ἱππεις και ανδρες πλουσιοι αυτῳ ΔΕΙΑΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΝ.

† Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the fam'd courſer of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave)
To 'ſcape the wars, to Agamemnon gave,
(Aethe her name) at home to end his days,
Baſe wealth preferring to eternal praiſe.
POPE, Il. xxiii.

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horſes or men.

purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white, by reason of their having lived so much within doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Whereupon Agesilaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops, "These are the persons whom ye fight with;" and then pointing to the rich spoils, "Those are the things "ye fight for."

When the season called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tisaphernes: that general deceived himself. For, giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had been imposed upon by them before, he concluded he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his strength did not lie. Agesilaus, as he had proposed, went and sat down on the plains of Sardis, and Tisaphernes was forced to march thither in great haste with succours. The Persian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesilaus, however, considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he had all his forces about him; and therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The Barbarians were soon put to flight; the Greeks pursued them, took their camp, and killed great numbers.

In consequence of this success, they could pillage the king's country in full security, and had all the satisfaction to see Tisaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greatest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished. For the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, promising him large sums *, on condition that he would evacuate his dominions. Agesilaus answered, "His country was the sole arbitress "of

* He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute; and he hoped (he said) that this condescension would persuade Agesilaus to accept the peace, and return home; the rather, because Tisaphernes, who was guilty of the first breach, was punished as he deserved.

" of peace. For his own part, he rather chose to enrich " his soldiers than himself; and the great honour among " the Greeks, was to carry home spoils, and not presents " from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes, for destroying Tisaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, taking thirty talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *scytala* from the magistrates of Lacedemon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as army; an honour which that city never granted to any one but himself. He was, indeed, (as Theopompus somewhere says) confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithstanding, there was this flaw in his character: when he had the conduct of the navy given him, he committed that charge to Pisander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother, and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his interest, who had been some time desirous of such a connection, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and took a share in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son, a handsome youth, for whom Agesilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him a thousand horse, and two thousand men draughted from his light-armed troops, and with these he returned to Phrygia.

Agesilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he took his most valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however, watched him so narrowly, that, with the assistance of * Herippidas the

* Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty, sent to Agesilaus the second year of the war.

Spartan, at laſt he made himſelf maſter of his camp, and all his treaſures. Herippidas made it his buſineſs to examine what part of the baggage was ſecreted, and compelled the Barbarians to reſtore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen eye, into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to ſuch a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Ageſilaus more nearly than this. Beſide the pain it gave him to think he had loſt Spithridates, and a conſiderable body of men with him, he was aſhamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanneſs, from which he had ever ſtudied to keep both himſelf and his country. Theſe were cauſes of uneaſineſs that might be publicly acknowledged; but he had a private, and more ſenſible one, in his attachment to the ſon of Spithridates; though while he was with him, he had made it a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to ſalute him, and Ageſilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more diſtant in his addreſſes. Then Ageſilaus was ſorry for the repulſe he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at ſuch a diſtance. His friends told him, he muſt blame himſelf for rejecting his former application. "He would ſtill," ſaid they, "be glad to pay his moſt obliging reſpects to you; but "take care you do not reject them again." Ageſilaus was ſilent ſome time: and when he had conſidered the thing, he ſaid, "Do not mention it to him. For this "ſecond victory over myſelf gives me more pleaſure, "than I ſhould have in turning all I look upon to gold." This reſolution of his held while Megabates was with him; but he was ſo much affected at his departure, that it is hard to ſay how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus deſired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whoſe houſe they had both been entertained, procured an interview. Ageſilaus came firſt to the place appointed, with his friends, and ſat down upon the long graſs under a ſhade, to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Perſian grandee came, his ſervants ſpread ſoft ſkins and beautiful pieces of tapeſtry for him; but, upon ſeeing Ageſilaus ſo ſeated, he was aſhamed to make uſe of them, and placed himſelf careleſsly upon the graſs

graſs in the ſame manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the fineſt colours.

After mutual ſalutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the Lacedemonians, after the ſervices he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Ageſilaus ſaw the Spartans were at a loſs for an anſwer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an anſwer, which was as follows: "While "we were friends to the king of Perſia, we treated him "and his in a friendly manner: now we are enemies, you "can expect nothing from us but hoſtilities. Therefore, "while you, Pharnabazus, chooſe to be a vaſſal to the "king, we wound him through your ſides. Only be a "friend and ally to the Greeks, and ſhake off that vaſſal-"age, and from that moment you have a right to con-"ſider theſe battalions, theſe arms and ſhips, in ſhort, all "that we are or have, as guardians of your poſſeſſions, "and your liberty; without which nothing is great or "deſirable among men *."

Pharnabazus then explained himſelf in theſe terms: "If "the king ſends another lieutenant in my room, I will be "for you; but while he continues me in the government, "I will, to the beſt of my power, repel force with force, "and make repriſals upon you for him." Ageſilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and riſing up with him, ſaid, "Heaven grant, that with ſuch ſentiments as "theſe, you may be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnazabus and his company were going away, his ſon, who was behind, ran up to Ageſilaus, and ſaid with a ſmile, "Sir, I enter with you into the rights of hoſpi-"tality." At the ſame time he gave him a javelin which he had in his hand. Ageſilaus received it; and, delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for ſomething handſome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His ſecretary Adæus happening to have a horſe with magnificent furniture juſt by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In proceſs of time this Perſian was driven from his

* He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for the future, "avoid your territories as much as poſſible, and rather forage and raiſe con-"tributions in any other province." XEN. Grec. War, b. iv.

his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him on all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling-ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic Games; but as he was past the proper age, they did not choose to admit him *. In this case the Persian applied to Agesilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admission he desired, though not without much difficulty.

Agesilaus, indeed, in other respects, was strictly and inflexibly just; but where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to justice a mere pretence. There is still extant, a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. "If Nicias "is innocent, acquit him: If he is not innocent, acquit "him on my account. However, be sure to acquit him."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus, as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of state. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he turned, and said, "How "little constant are love and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the upper provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity: and whereas on many occasions we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers as he had, there was scarce one who had a worse or a harder bed than he. He was so fortified against heat and cold, that none was so well prepared as himself for whatever seasons the climate should produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle, than the Persian governors and generals, who had been

* Sometimes boys had a share in these exhibitions, who, after a certain age, were excluded the lists.

been insufferably elated with power, and had rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and, upon one laconic word, conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occasion:

MARS is the god; and Greece reveres not GOLD.

All Asia was now ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police, without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there, to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the Ephori had sent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! Barbarians to each other!

What better name can we give that envy which incited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the Barbarians; and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themselves, which was happily removed into a foreign country †. I cannot, indeed, agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he says, those Greeks fell short of a great happiness, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause of tears, when they considered that they left that to Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by the generals whom they slew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

However

† That corruption which brought the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we must take leave to observe, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece, were the support of its liberties, and that Persia was not conquered, till nothing but the shadow of those liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent states which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm, from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

However, of all the actions of Ageſilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a ſtronger inſtance of his obedience to the laws and juſtice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a deſperate condition, and he was almoſt beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the ſummons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander made a jeſt of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: He ſaid, "It ſeems, my friends, that while we were conquering Darius here, there was a combat of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the reſpect which Ageſilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No ſooner was the *ſcytala* brought him, though in the midſt of his power and good fortune, than he reſigned and abandoned his flouriſhing proſpects, ſailed home and left his great work unfiniſhed. Such was the regret his friends as well as allies had for the loſs of him, that it was a ſtrong confutation of the ſaying of Demoſtratus the Phæacian, "That the Lacedemonians excelled in public, and the Athenians in private characters." For, though he had great merit as a king and a general, yet ſtill he was a more deſirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

As the Perſian money had the impreſſion of an archer, he ſaid, "He was driven out of Aſia by ten thouſand of the king's archer's *." For the orators of Athens and Thebes having been bribed with ſo many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms againſt Sparta.

When he had croſſed the Helleſpont, he marched through Thrace without aſking leave of any of the Barbarians. He only deſired to know of each people, "Whether they would have him paſs as a friend, or as an enemy." All the reſt received him with tokens of friendſhip, and ſhowed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the † Trallians, of whom Xerxes is ſaid to have bought a paſſage,

* Tithraufles ſent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he diſtributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no ſhare in that diſtribution.

† Beſide the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. So at leaſt, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap. Steph.) teſtifies. One of the MSS. inſtead of Τραλλεις, gives us Τραχαλεις. In Op. Mor. 373. 21. they are called Τραυδις. Poſſibly it might be the Triballi.

paſſage, demanded of Ageſilaus a hundred talents of ſilver, and as many women. He anſwered the meſſengers ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive them?" At the ſame time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppoſe him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great ſlaughter.

He ſent ſome of his people to put the ſame queſtion to the king of Macedon; who anſwered, "I will conſider "of it." "Let him conſider," ſaid he, "in the mean "time we march." The king ſurpriſed and awed by his ſpirit, deſired him to paſs as a friend.

The Theſſalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and therefore he laid waſte their territories. To the city of Lariſſa, indeed, he offered his friendſhip, by his ambaſſadors Xenocles and Scytha: but the people ſeized them and put them in priſon. His troops ſo reſented this affront, that they would have had him go and lay ſiege to the place. Ageſilaus, however, was of another mind. He ſaid, "He would not loſe one of his am-"baſſadors for gaining all Theſſaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder that Ageſilaus took this ſtep, ſince, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were ſuddenly taken off, but that the loſs of the Spartans was ſmall in compariſon of that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the leaſt. On the contrary, he ſaid, with a deep ſigh, "Un-"happy Greece! why haſt thou deſtroyed ſo many brave "men with thy own hands, who, had they lived, might "have conquered all the Barbarians in the world?"

However, as the Pharſalians attacked and haraſſed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horſe, and put them to flight. He was ſo much pleaſed with this ſucceſs, that he erected a trophy under mount Narthacium; and he valued himſelf the more upon it, becauſe with ſo ſmall a number of his own training, he had beaten a people who reckoned theirs the beſt cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the *Ephori*, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had ſtrengthened his army with ſome reinforcements, he thought it was not right to diſobey the magiſtrates. He therefore ſaid to thoſe about him, "Now comes the day, for which we were

"called

" called out of Aſia." At the ſame time he ſent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedemonians did him the honour to cauſe proclamation to be made at home, that ſuch of the youth as were inclined to go and aſſiſt their king, might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta preſented themſelves for that ſervice; but the magiſtrates ſelected only fifty of the ableſt, and ſent them.

Ageſilaus, having paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, and traverſed Phocis, which was in friendſhip with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had ſcarce entrenched himſelf, when there happened an eclipſe * of the ſun. At the ſame time he received an account that Piſander was defeated at ſea, and killed, by Pharnabazus and Conon. He was much afflicted with his own loſs, as well as that of the public. Yet, leſt his army, which was going to give battle, ſhould be diſcouraged at the news, he ordered the meſſengers to give out that Piſander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned ſolemn thanks for the pretended ſucceſs, and ſent portions of the ſacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to † Coronea, and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himſelf. The Thebans alſo putting themſelves in order of battle, placed themſelves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon ſays, this was the moſt furious battle in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it for Ageſilaus, with whom he returned from Aſia.

The firſt charge was neither violent nor laſting: The Thebans ſoon routed the Orchomenians, and Ageſilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both haſtened to their relief. At this inſtant Ageſilaus might have ſecured to himſelf the victory without any riſk, if he

* This eclipſe happened on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, in the third year of the ninety-ſixth olympiad, three hundred and ninety-two years before the Chriſtian æra.

† In the printed text it is *Coronea*, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly *Chæronea*, upon the Cephiſus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we muſt not confound it with the battle of Coronea, in Theſſaly, fought fifty-three years before.

he would have ſuffered the Thebans to paſs, and then have charged them in the rear *: But borne along by his fury, and an ambition to diſplay his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, eſpecially where Ageſilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumſtance that he had thoſe volunteers, and they could not have come more ſeaſonably. For they fought with the moſt determined valour, and expoſed their perſons to the greateſt dangers in his defence; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places with ſpears and ſwords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the ſpot. At laſt finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourſe to a manœuvre, which at firſt they ſcorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans paſs; after which, obſerving that they marched in a diſorderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themſelves much upon the battle, becauſe their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedemonians.

Ageſilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had ſeen the dead borne off upon their arms. Mean time he was informed, that a party of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they ſhould be diſmiſſed in ſafety. Before this temple ſtood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when, under the conduct of Sparton, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides †.

Early next morning, Ageſilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the muſic to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the ſame

* Xenophon gives another turn to the matter; for with him Ageſilaus was never wrong.

† In the battle of Coronea.

ſame time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead; which circumſtance confirmed the victory to him. He, therefore, granted them a truce for that purpoſe, and then cauſed himſelf to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a ſolemn proceſſion in honour of the God, and conſecrated to him the tenth of the ſpoils he had taken in Aſia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country, nor, in fondneſs for the faſhions he had ſeen there, diſdain thoſe of his own. On the contrary, he ſhowed as much attachment to the Spartan cuſtoms, as thoſe who had never paſſed the Eurotas. He changed not his repaſts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his houſe. He ever let his doors remain, which were ſo old that they ſeemed to be thoſe ſet up by Ariſtodemus *. Xenophon alſo aſſures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the leaſt richer than thoſe of other young ladies. Theſe carriages, called *canathra*, and made uſe of by the virgins in their ſolemn proceſſions, were a kind of wooden chaiſes, made in the form of griffins, or goat-ſtags †. Xenophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Ageſilaus: and Dicæarchus is greatly diſſatisfied, that neither her name is preſerved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find by ſome Lacedemonian inſcriptions, that the wife of Ageſilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters ‡ Apolia and Prolyta. We ſee alſo at Lacedemon the ſpear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he obſerved that many of the citizens valued themſelves upon breeding horſes for the Olympic games, he perſuaded his ſiſter Cyniſca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in perſon. This he did, to ſhow the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not

*. Ariſtodemus, the ſon of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flouriſhed eleven hundred years before the Chriſtian æra; ſo that the gates of Ageſilaus's palace, if ſet up by Ariſtodemus, had then ſtood ſeven hundred and eight years.

† In the original τραγελαφους. Cervorum eſt ſpecie tragelaphus barbatarum et armorum villo diſtans. PLIN.

‡ *Eupolia* and *Proxena*. Cod. Vulcob.

not depend upon any extraordinary ſpirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expence.

Xenophon, ſo famed for wiſdom, ſpent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great reſpect. He alſo deſired him to ſend for his ſons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the beſt knowledge in the world, the knowing how to command, and how to obey.

After the death of Lyſander, he found out a conſpiracy, which that general had formed againſt him immediately after his return from Aſia. And he was inclined to ſhow the public what kind of man Lyſander really was, by expoſing an oration found among his papers, which had been compoſed for him by Cleon of Halicarnaſſus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the conſtitution. But one of the ſenators having the peruſal of it, and finding it a very plauſible compoſition, adviſed him "not to dig Lyſander out of his grave, but rather to bury "the oration with him." The advice appeared reaſonable, and he ſuppreſſed the paper.

As for the perſons who oppoſed his meaſures moſt, he made no open repriſals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When inveſted with power, they ſoon ſhowed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in conſequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he uſed to aſſiſt them in their diſtreſs, and labour to get them acquitted; by which he made them friends and partizans inſtead of adverſaries; ſo that at laſt he had no oppoſition to contend with. For his royal colleague * Ageſipolis, being the ſon of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modeſt diſpoſition, interfered not much in the affairs of government. Ageſilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. The two kings, when they were in Sparta, eat at the ſame table. Ageſilaus knew that Ageſipolis was open to the impreſſions of love as well as himſelf, and therefore conſtantly turned the converſation upon ſome amiable young perſon. He even aſſiſted him in his views that way, and brought him at laſt to fix upon the ſame favourite with himſelf. For at Sparta there is nothing criminal in theſe attachments;

* Ageſipolis was the ſon of Pauſanias.

attachments; on the contrary, (as we have obſerved in the life of Lycurgus), ſuch love is productive of the greateſt modeſty and honour, and its characteriſtic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Ageſilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the addreſs to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's ſide, appointed admiral. After which, he marched againſt Corinth * with his land-forces, and took the long walls; Teleutias aſſiſting his operations by ſea. The Argives, who were then in poſſeſſion of Corinth, were celebrating the Iſthmian games; and Ageſilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the ſacrifice, drove them away, and ſeized upon all that they had prepared for the feſtival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him, deſired him to undertake the exhibition, as preſident; but not chooſing that, he ordered them to proceed with the ſolemnity, and ſtayed to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and ſome who had gained the prize before, had the ſame good fortune a ſecond time; others who were victorious then, were now in the liſt of the vanquiſhed. Lyſander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives muſt be, who, while they reckoned the preſidency at thoſe games ſo honourable a privilege, did not dare to riſk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this ſort of diverſions was beſt, and applied himſelf to embelliſh the choirs and public exerciſes of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his preſence, and ſupported them with great zeal and ſpirit, never miſſing any of the exerciſes of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, ſo much admired by the world, he ſeemed not even to know them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was univerſally careſſed, approached and paid his reſpects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting he

* There were two expeditions of Ageſilaus againſt Corinth; Plutarch in this place confounds them; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has diſtinguiſhed them very clearly. The enterpriſe in which Teleutias aſſiſted, did not ſucceed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Ageſilaus's reſentment.

he would take ſome honourable notice of him. At laſt he ſaid, "Do not you know me, Sir?" The king caſting his eyes upon him, anſwered ſlightly, "Are you not Cal-"lipedes the ſtage-player?" Another time, being aſked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refuſed, and ſaid, "I have heard the "nightingale herſelf."

Menecrates the phyſician, having ſucceeded in ſome deſperate caſes, got the ſurname of Jupiter. And he was ſo vain of the appellation, that he made uſe of it in a letter to the king. "Menecrates Jupiter to king Ageſilaus, "health." His anſwer began thus: "King Ageſilaus to "Menecrates, his ſenſes."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno; and as he ſtood looking upon the ſoldiers who were carrying off the priſoners and the ſpoils, ambaſſadors came from Thebes with propoſals of peace. He had ever hated that city; and now thinking it neceſſary to expreſs his contempt for it, he pretended not to ſee the ambaſſadors, nor to hear their addreſs, though they were before him. Heaven, however, avenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him, that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greateſt loſſes his country had ſuſtained for a long time: and beſide being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this farther mortification, that their heavy-armed ſoldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedemonians by mercenaries.

Ageſilaus immediately marched to their aſſiſtance; but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and acquainted the Bœotian ambaſſadors that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of the opportunity to return the inſult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only deſired a ſafe conduct to Corinth. Ageſilaus, provoked at the demand, anſwered, "If you are deſirous "to ſee your friends in the elevation of ſucceſs, to-morrow "you ſhall do it with all the ſecurity you can deſire." Accordingly, the next day he laid waſte the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus having ſhown the ambaſſadors, that the Corinthians did not dare to oppoſe him, he diſmiſſed them: then he collected ſuch of his countrymen as had eſcaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedemon; taking

taking care every day to move before it was light, and to encamp after it was dark, to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the * Achæans, he led his forces, along with theirs, into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands. But he said, "The step he should take would be the very "reverse; for they would be more afraid of war, when "they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had made themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedemonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, on this occasion, acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up those cities to the king of Persia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed, fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by all the means he could devise, because he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lacedemonians were turning Medes," he said, "No; the Medes are turning Lacedemonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war †.

His

* The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied to the Lacedemonians for succours, who employed Agesilaus in that business. XEN. Gr. Hist. book iv.

† The king of Persia's terms were, that the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; and that such as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms. XEN. Hellen. lib. v.

This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year before Christ, 387.

His view in this was, to weaken the Thebans: for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœotia ſhould be free and independent. The ſubſequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the moſt unjuſtifiable manner, had ſeized the citadal of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expreſſed their indignation; and many of the Spartans did the ſame; particularly thoſe who were at variance with Ageſilaus. Theſe aſked him in an angry tone "By whoſe "orders Phœbidas had done ſo unjuſt a thing," hoping to bring the blame upon him. He ſcrupled not to ſay, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You ſhould examine the ten-"dency of the action; conſider whether it was advan-"tageous to Sparta. If its nature was ſuch, it was glorious "to do it without any orders." Yet in his diſcourſe he was always magnifying juſtice, and giving her the firſt rank among the virtues. "Unſupported by * juſtice," ſaid he, "valour is good for nothing: and, if all men were juſt, "there would be no need of valour." If any one, in the courſe of converſation, happened to ſay, "Such is "the pleaſure of the great king;" he would anſwer, "How is he greater than I, if he is not more juſt?" Which implies a maxim indiſputably right, that juſtice is the royal inſtrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Perſia ſent him a letter, whoſe purport was to propoſe a private friendſhip, and the rights of hoſpitality between them; but he declined it. He ſaid, "The public friendſhip "was ſufficient; and while that laſted, there was no need "of a private one."

Yet he did not regulate his conduct by theſe honourable ſentiments: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and reſentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only ſcreened Phœbidas from puniſhment, but perſuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themſelves, and putting the Theban adminiſtration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to

* This is not the only inſtance, in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be ſtrictly juſt in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleaſes in a public one, provided his country is a gainer by it.

Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to ſuſpect, that though Phœbidas was the inſtrument, the deſign was formed by Ageſilaus, and the ſubſequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction. For when the * Athenians had expelled the garriſon, and reſtored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war againſt the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *polemarchs*, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus †, who upon the death of Ageſipolis ſucceeded to the throne, was ſent with an army to Bœotia. For Ageſilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and conſequently excuſed from ſervice by law, was very willing to decline this commiſſion. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliaſians in favour of exiles, he was aſhamed now to appear in arms againſt the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedemonian, named Sphodrias, of the party that oppoſed Ageſilaus, lately appointed governor of Theſpiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition, but he was governed rather by ſanguine hopes than good ſenſe and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the liſts of fame by his Theban enterpriſe, was perſuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if, without any directions from his ſuperiors, he could ſeize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the ſea, by a ſudden attack at land.

It is ſaid, that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, firſt magiſtrates in Bœotia ‡. They ſent perſons to him, who pretended to be much in the Spartan intereſt, and who, by magnifying him as the only man fit for ſuch an exploit, worked up his ambition till he undertook a thing equally unjuſt and deteſtable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with leſs valour, and attended with leſs ſucceſs. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriaſia. And we are told, that ſome high appearin

* See XEN. Grec. Hiſt. l. v, whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

† Cleombrotus was the youngeſt ſon of Pauſanias, and brother to Ageſipolis.

‡ They feared the Lacedemonians were too ſtrong for them, and therefore put Sphodrias upon this act of hoſtility againſt the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel.

appearing to the ſoldiers to ſtream from the temples of Eleuſis, they were ſtruck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himſelf loſt his ſpirit of adventure, when he found his march could no longer be concealed; and having collected ſome trifling booty, he returned with diſgrace to Theſpiæ.

Hereupon, the Athenians ſent deputies to Sparta, to complain of Sphodrias; but they found the magiſtrates had proceeded againſt him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital proſecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were aſhamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to reſent the injury as done to themſelves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice.

Sphodrias had a ſon named Cleonymus, young and handſome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, ſhared in all the uneaſineſs of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf, becauſe Sphodrias had been a ſtrong adverſary to Ageſilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and intreated him with many tears to intercede with Ageſilaus, as the perſon whom they had moſt reaſon to dread, he undertook the commiſſion. Three or four days paſſed, during which he was reſtrained by a reverential awe from ſpeaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in ſilence. At laſt when the day of trial was at hand, he ſummoned up courage enough to ſay, Cleonymus was a ſuppliant to him for his father. Ageſilaus, knowing the attachment of his ſon to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him againſt it. For Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthieſt men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this caſe: he only ſaid, "He would conſider what "would be the conſiſtent and honourable part for him to "act."

Archidamus, therefore, aſhamed of the inefficacy of his interpoſition, diſcontinued his viſits to Cleonymus, though before he uſed to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias gave up the point for loſt; till an intimate acquaintance of Ageſilaus, named

Etymocles, in a converſation which paſſed between them, diſcovered the ſentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly diſapproved that attempt of Sphodrias, yet "he looked upon him as a brave man, and was ſenſible "that Sparta had occaſion for ſuch ſoldiers as he." This was the way, indeed, in which Ageſilaus conſtantly ſpoke of the cauſe, in order to oblige his ſon. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived, with how much zeal Archidamus had ſerved him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Ageſilaus was certainly a moſt affectionate father. It is ſaid, when his children were ſmall, he would join in their ſports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a ſtick, he deſired him "not to mention it, till he "was a father himſelf."

Sphodrias was aquitted: upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the cenſures of the world upon Ageſilaus, who, to gratify an abſurd and childiſh inclination of his ſon, obſtructed the courſe of juſtice, and brought his country under the reproach of ſuch flagrant offences againſt the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus * diſinclined to continue the war with the Thebans, he dropt the excuſe the law furniſhed him with, though he had made uſe of it before, and marched himſelf into Bœotia. The Thebans ſuffered much from his operations, and he felt the ſame from theirs in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day ſeeing him come off wounded, thus addreſſed him: "The Thebans pay you "well for teaching them to fight, when they had neither "inclination nor ſufficient ſkill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been; after having been trained and exerciſed in ſo many wars with the Lacedemonians. For the ſame reaſon, their ancient ſage, Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetræ*, forbad them to go to war with the ſame enemy often; namely to prevent the enemey from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewiſe complained of Ageſilaus, "That it was not in any public quarrel, but from an ob-

"ſtinate

* Xenophon ſays, the *Ephori* thought Ageſilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. To *him* has nothing to do in the text.

"ſtinate ſpirit of * private reſentment, that he fought to "deſtroy the Thebans. For their part, they ſaid they "were wearing themſelves out, without any occaſion, by "going in ſuch numbers upon this or that expedition "every year, at the will of a handful of Lacedemonians." Hereupon, Ageſilaus, deſirous to ſhow them, that the number of their warriors was not ſo great, ordered all the allies to ſit down promiſcuouſly on one ſide, and all the Lacedemonians on the other. This done, the crier ſummoned the trades to ſtand up one after another; the potters firſt, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the maſons, in ſhort all the mechanics. Almoſt all the allies roſe up to anſwer in one branch of buſineſs or other, but not one of the Lacedemonians; for they were forbidden to learn or exerciſe any manual art. Then Ageſilaus ſmiled, and ſaid, "You ſee, my friends, we ſend more "warriors into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the † ſenate-houſe in the citadel, he was ſeized with ſpaſms and an acute pain in his right leg. It ſwelled immediately, the veſſels were diſtended with blood, and there appeared all the ſigns of a violent inflammation. A Syracuſan phyſician opened a vein below the ancle; upon which the pain abated; but the blood came ſo faſt, that it was not ſtopt without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedemon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of ſervice.

In the mean time, the Spartans met with ſeveral checks both by ſea and land. The moſt conſiderable loſs was at ‡ Leuctra, which was the firſt pitched battle the Thebans gained againſt them. Before the laſt mentioned action, all parties were diſpoſed to peace, and the ſtates of Greece

* This private reſentment and enmity which Ageſilaus entertained againſt the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himſelf and his country.

† Xenophon (Hellan. 337, 12 Ed. St.) ſays, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the ſenate-houſe.

‡ Some manuſcripts have it *Tegyra*; but here is no neceſſity to alter the received reading; though Palmer inſiſts ſo much upon it. For that of Leuctra was certainly the firſt pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the firſt career. Beſides, it appears from Xenophon (Hellan. 349, 25.) that Ageſilaus was not then recovered from the ſickneſs mentioned in the text.

ſent their deputies to Lacedemon to treat of it. Among theſe was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philoſophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He ſaw the other deputies were awed by the preſence of Ageſilaus, and he was the only one who preſerved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and his propoſitions. He made a ſpeech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece, in general; in which he ſhowed that war tended to aggrandize Sparta, at the expence of the other ſtates; and inſiſted that the peace ſhould be founded upon juſtice and equality; becauſe then only it would be laſting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Ageſilaus perceiving that the Greeks liſtened to him with wonder and great attention, aſked him, "Whether "he thought it juſt and equitable that the cities of Bœotia "ſhould be declared free and independent." Epaminondas, with great readineſs and ſpirit, anſwered him with another queſtion, "Do you think it reaſonable that all the "cities of Laconia ſhould be declared independent?" Ageſilaus, incenſed at this anſwer, ſtarted up, and inſiſted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to a "perfect independence for Bœotia?" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the "ſame ſtate." Ageſilaus, now exaſperated to the laſt degree, and glad of a pretence againſt the Thebans, ſtruck their name out of the treaty, and declared war againſt them upon the ſpot. After the reſt of the deputies had ſigned ſuch points as they could ſettle amicably, he diſmiſſed them; leaving others of a more difficult nature to be decided by the ſword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *Ephori* ſent him orders to march againſt the Thebans. At the ſame time, they ſent their commiſſaries to aſſemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and conſidered it as a great burden upon them, though they durſt not contradict or oppoſe the Lacedemonians. Many inauſpicious ſigns and prodigies appeared, as we have obſerved in the life of Epaminondas; and Protheus * the Spartan oppoſed the

* Protheus propoſed that the Spartans ſhould diſband their army according to their engagement; that all the ſtates ſhould carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war

the war to the utmoſt of his power. But Ageſilaus could not be driven from his purpoſe. He prevailed to have hoſtilities commenced; in hopes, that while the reſt of Greece was in a ſtate of freedom, and in alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he ſhould have an excellent opportunity to chaſtiſe them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his reſentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedemon on the fourteenth of *June*, and the Lacedemonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of *July*; which was only twenty days after. A thouſand citizens of Lacedemon were killed there, among whom were their king Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his ſide. The beautiful Cleonymus, the ſon of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was ſtruck down three ſeveral times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and roſe up as often; and at laſt was killed with his ſword in his hand *.

After the Lacedemonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious ſucceſs, than Greeks had ever boaſted in a battle with Greeks, the ſpirit and dignity of the vanquiſhed was, notwithſtanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed, if, as Xenophon ſays, "Men of merit, in their convivial converſations, let "fall ſome expreſſions that deſerve to be remarked and

war upon ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the liberty of the cities. This, he ſaid, would give the cauſe the ſanction of Heaven, and the ſtates of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for, as Xenophon adds, "It looked as if the gods were al-"ready urging on the Lacedemonians to their ruin."

* Epaminondas placed his beſt troops in one wing, and thoſe he leaſt depended on in the other. The former he commanded in perſon; to the latter he gave directions, that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they ſhould retire leiſurely, ſo as to expoſe to them a ſloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they preſſed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with ſo much bravery, that the Spartans began to give way, eſpecially after Cleombrotus was ſlain, whoſe dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the ſkill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thouſand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not loſe above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans loſt their ſuperiority in Greece, which they had held near five hundred years.

" preſerved; certainly the noble behaviour and the ex-
" preſſion of ſuch perſons, when ſtruggling with adver-
" ſity, claim our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a feſtival, and the city was full of ſtrangers: for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exerciſes in the theatre. The *Ephori*, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had loſt the empire of Greece, would not ſuffer the ſports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the feſtival to be omitted; but having ſent the names of the killed to their reſpective families, they ſtayed to ſee the exerciſes, the dances, and all other parts of the exhibition concluded *.

Next morning, the names of the killed, and of thoſe who ſurvived the battle, being perfectly aſcertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead, appeared in public, and embraced each other with a cheerful air and a generous pride; while the relations of the ſurvivors ſhut themſelves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon buſineſs, he ſhowed all the tokens of ſorrow and humiliation, both in his ſpeech and countenance. The difference was ſtill more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their ſons alive from the battle, were melancholy and ſilent; whereas, thoſe who had an account that their ſons were ſlain, repaired immediately to the temples to return thanks, and viſited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deſerted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponneſus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameneſs of Ageſilaus. The ſcruples they had on this occaſion, diſcouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine diſpleaſure had brought upon

* But where was the merit of all this? What could ſuch a conduct have for its ſupport, but either inſenſibility or affectation? If they found any reaſon to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow citizens, certainly the ruin of the ſtate was an object ſufficiently ſerious to call them from the purſuits of feſtivity! But, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*: The infatuation of ambition and jealouſy drew upon them the Theban war, and it ſeemed to laſt upon them, even when they had felt its fatal conſequences.

upon them the late calamity, for expelling a found man from the throne, and preferving a lame one, in ſpite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had given them againſt it. Nevertheleſs, in regard of his virtue, his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, beſide marching under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal diſorder of the commonwealth. At preſent they were at a loſs what to do with thoſe who had fled from the battle. The Lacedemonians call ſuch perſons *treſantes* *. In this caſe they did not chooſe to ſet ſuch marks of diſgrace upon them as the laws directed, becauſe they were ſo numerous and powerful, that there was reaſon to apprehend it might occaſion an inſurrection. For ſuch perſons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them. Any man that meets them is at liberty to ſtrike them. They are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours, and to wear their beards half ſhaved and half unſhaved. To put ſo rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were ſo numerous, and when the commonwealth had ſo much occaſion for ſoldiers, was both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity, they had recourſe to Ageſilaus, and inveſted him with new powers of legiſlation. But he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the aſſembly, and told the Lacedemonians, "The laws ſhould ſleep that day, and reſume their authority the day following, and retain it forever." By this means he preſerved to the ſtate its laws entire, as well as the obnoxious perſons from infamy. Then, in order to raiſe the youth out of the depreſſion and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This reſtored Sparta to her ſpirits in ſome degree, and gave her reaſon to hope that ſhe was not abſolutely loſt.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thouſand men, exclusive of the light-armed, and thoſe who, without arms,

* That is, *perſons governed by their fears.*

followed only for plunder. For, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than seventy thousand that poured into that country. Full six hundred years were elapsed since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedemon, and this was the first time, in all that long period, they had seen an enemy in their territories; none ever dared to set foot on them before. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword, as far as the Eurotas, and the very suburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedemonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city, and other important posts; and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agesilaus was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness at the shoots of the enemy, and the flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state at his accession, and he now saw her glory wither, and his own boasts come to nothing. It seems he had often said, "No Spartan woman ever saw the smoke "of an enemy's camp." In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas, on the subject of valour, and said, "We have often driven you from the banks of "the Cephisus." Antalcidas answered, "But we never "drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this was the repartee of a Spartan of less note, to a man of Argos, who said, "Many of you sleep on the "plains of Argos." The Spartan answered, "But not "one of you sleeps on the plains of Lacedemon."

Some say, Antalcidas was then one of the *Ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to pass the Eurotas, in order to attack the town itself, Agesilaus relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river

river was much ſwoln with the ſnow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troubleſome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry. As he was paſſing it, ſomebody pointed him out to Ageſilaus: who, after having viewed him for ſome time, only let fall this expreſſion, "O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but finding he could not draw down Ageſilaus from the heights, he decamped, and laid waſte the country.

There had been long a diſaffected party in Lacedemon, and now about two hundred of that party leagued together, and ſeized upon a ſtrong poſt, called the *Iſſorium*, in which ſtood the temple of Diana. The Lacedemonians wanted to have the place ſtormed immediately: But Ageſilaus, apprehenſive of an inſurrection in their favour, took his cloak and one ſervant with him, and told them aloud, "That they had miſtaken their orders. I did not order "you," ſaid he, "to take poſt here, nor all in any one "place, but ſome there (pointing to another place), and "ſome in other quarters." When they heard this, they were happy in thinking their deſign was not diſcovered; and they came out, and went to ſeveral poſts as he directed them. At the ſame time he lodged another corps in the *Iſſorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he diſcovered another, and much greater conſpiracy, of Spartans, who met privately in a houſe belonging to one of them, to conſider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of ſo much trouble, or to let their cabals paſs without notice. Ageſilaus, therefore, having conſulted with the *Ephori*, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever ſuffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the *Helots* who were enliſted, ſlunk away from the town, and deſerted to the enemy, and this greatly diſcouraged his forces, he ordered his ſervants to go early in the morning to the quarters, and where they found any had deſerted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Hiſtorians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia. Some ſay the winter ſoon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that ſeaſon, and falling off in a very diſorderly manner: others affirm, that the Thebans ſtayed full three months, in which time they laid waſte almoſt all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had ſent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus, on the part of Ageſilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laconia. So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expences of their return For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other hiſtorians knew nothing of.

It is univerſally agreed, however, that Ageſilaus ſaved Sparta, by controuling his native paſſions of obſtinacy and ambition, and purſuing no meaſures but what were ſafe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow, reſtore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accuſtomed to a ſtrict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, ſo one miſcarriage brought that flouriſhing ſtate to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at. Their conſtitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony: but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquiſitions which Lycurgus thought unneceſſary to their happineſs, they ſplit upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Ageſilaus now declined the ſervice on account of his great age. But his ſon Archidamus, having received ſome ſuccours from Dionyſius the Sicilian tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the tearleſs battle;* for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without loſing a man himſelf.

Nothing could afford a greater proof of the weakneſs of Sparta, than this victory. Before it had been ſo common, and ſo natural a thing, for Spartans to conquer, that on ſuch occaſions they offered no greater ſacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor thoſe who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has ſo well deſcribed, the *Ephori* preſented the perſon who brought them

them the first news of their success, with nothing but a mess of meat from the public table. But now, when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands, and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory stream out afresh. Till that hour the men were so much ashamed of the loss they had sustained, that, it is said, they could not even carry it with an unembarrassed countenance to the women.

When Epaminondas re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppose him in the field. But it gave them great concern, that they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that in his reign they had lost a country full as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason, Agesilaus rejected the peace, which the Thebans offered him; not choosing formally to give up to them, what they were in fact possessed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had separated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedemonians to their assistance. Epaminondas being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegea in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road to Lacedemon, from that Agesilaus was upon; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceless state, and have taken it with ease. But Euthynus, of Thespine, as Callisthenes relates it, or some Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He saw that this was not time (as it had been) for safe and cautious measures, but rather for the

the boldeſt and moſt deſperate efforts; inſomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the leaſt uſe of, ſtaved off the preſent danger, and ſnatched the victory out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occaſion, and ſhewed the children and the women, how gloriouſly the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf that day, both by his courage and agility, flying through the bye-lanes, to meet the enemy where they preſſed the hardeſt, and every where repulſing them with his little band.

But Iſadas, the ſon of Phœbidas, was the moſt extraordinary and ſtriking ſpectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his perſon, and juſt growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greateſt charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other. In this condition he ruſhed out of his houſe, and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, ſtriking down every man he engaged with. Yet he received not one wound himſelf; whether it was that Heaven preſerved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adverſaries as ſomething more than human. It is ſaid, the *Ephori* honoured him with a chapelet for the great things he had performed, but, at the ſame time, fined him a thouſand drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this, there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the firſt battalions, was very eager in the purſuit; when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned ſhort, and gave him a wound with a ſpear, according to Dioſcorides, or, as others ſay, with a ſword. And, indeed, the deſcendants of * Anticrates are to this day called *machæriones*, *ſwordſmen*, in Lacedemon. This action appeared ſo great, and was ſo acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his poſterity; one

* Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the ſon of Xenophon, who, he ſays, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account ſeems better grounded.

one of which, named Callicrates *, now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace. But Ageſilaus, under pretence that the Meſſenians were not a ſtate, inſiſted that they ſhould not be comprehended in the treaty. All the reſt, however, admitted them to take the oath, as one of the ſtates; and the Lacedemonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Meſſenia. Ageſilaus could not, therefore, be conſidered but as violent and obſtinate in his temper, and inſatiably fond of hoſtilities, ſince he took every method to obſtruct the general peace, and to protract the war; though at the ſame time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreaſonable ſubſidies of the people. This was at a time, too, when he had the faireſt opportunity to extricate himſelf from all his diſtreſſes. Beſides, after he had let ſlip the power, which never before was at ſuch a height, loſt ſo many cities, and ſeen his country deprived of the ſuperiority both at ſea and land, ſhould he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Meſſene?

He loſt ſtill more reputation, by taking a command under Tachos, the Egyptian chief. It was not thought ſuitable to one of the greateſt characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his perſon, to give his name and his intereſt for a pecuniary conſideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a Barbarian, a rebel againſt the king his maſter. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and ſcars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day, would not have been entirely unexceptionable. For even honourable purſuits muſt have their times and ſeaſons to give them a propriety; or rather, propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteriſtic which diſtinguiſhes honourable purſuits from the diſhonourable. But Ageſilaus was not moved by this conſideration, nor did he think any public ſervice unworthy of him; he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to ſit down and wait till death

* Near five hundred years after.

death ſhould ſtrike his blow. He therefore raiſed a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet with the money which Tachos had ſent him, and then ſet ſail; taking with him thirty Spartans for his counſellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Egypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Ageſilaus had raiſed great expectations in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the ſhore to get a ſight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and ſaw only a little old man, and in as mean attire, ſeated on the graſs by the ſea-ſide, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and obſerving, that this was the very thing repreſented in the fable *, "The mountain had "brought forth a mouſe." They were ſtill more ſurpriſed at his want of politeneſs, when they brought him ſuch preſents as were commonly made to ſtrangers of diſtinction, and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geeſe, and refuſed the paſties, the ſweet meats, and perfumes; and when they preſſed him to accept them, he ſaid, "They might carry them to the *helots*." Theophraſtus tells us, he was pleaſed with the *papyrus*, on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt, he aſked the king for ſome of it.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Ageſilaus, upon joining him, was greatly diſappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was admiral: Tachos, however, reſerved to himſelf the chief direction, both at ſea and land. This was the firſt diſagreeable circumſtance that occurred to Ageſilaus; and others ſoon followed. The vanity and inſolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He conſented to ſail with him againſt the Phœnicians, and, contrary to his dignity and nature, ſubmitted to the Barbarian, till he could find an opportunity to ſhake off his yoke. That opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf. Nectanabis, † couſin to Tachos

* Athenæus makes Tachos ſay this, and Ageſilaus anſwer, "You will "find me a lion by and bye."

† Ἀνεψιὸς ſignifies either *couſin* or *nephew*. But, according to Diodorus, Nectanabis was the ſon of Tachos.

Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

In conſequence of this, Nectanabis ſent ambaſſadors to Ageſilaus, to entreat his aſſiſtance. He made the ſame application to Chabrias, and promiſed them both great rewards. Tachos was appriſed of theſe proceedings, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias liſtened to his requeſt, and endeavoured alſo to appeaſe the reſentment of Ageſilaus, and keep him to the cauſe he had embarked in. Ageſilaus anſwered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came "hither as a volunteer, and, therefore, may act as you "think proper; but I was ſent by my country, upon the "application of the Egyptians, for a general. It would "not then be right to commence hoſtilities againſt the "people, to whom I was ſent as an aſſiſtant, except Sparta "ſhould give me ſuch orders." At the ſame time he ſent ſome of his officers home, with inſtructions to accuſe Tachos, and to defend the cauſe of Nectanabis. The two rival kings alſo applied to the Lacedemonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a greater regard for Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedemonians gave the Egyptian deputies the hearing, and this public anſwer, "That they ſhould leave "the buſineſs to the care of Ageſilaus." But their private inſtructions to him were, "to do what ſhould appear moſt "advantageous to Sparta." Ageſilaus had no ſooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis; covering this ſtrange and ſcandalous * proceeding with the pretence of acting in the beſt manner for his country: when that ſlight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery, and baſe deſertion. It is true, the Lacedemonians, by placing a regard to the advantage of their country, in the firſt rank of honour and virtue, left themſelves no criterion of juſtice, but the aggrandizement of Sparta.

Tachos,

* Xenophon has ſucceeded well enough in defending Ageſilaus with reſpect to his undertaking the expedition into Ægypt. He repreſents him pleaſed with the hopes of making Tachos ſome return for his many ſervices to the Lacedemonians; of reſtoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Aſia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Perſia. But it was in vain for that hiſtorian to attempt to exculpate him, with reſpect to his deſerting Tachos, which Plutarch juſtly treats as an act of treachery.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took the flight. But, at the same time, there rose up in Mendes another competitor, to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thousand men, whom he had soon assembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many of them mechanics, who were to be despised for their utter ignorance of war. "It is not "their numbers, said Agesilaus, that I fear, but that ignorance and inexperience, you mention, which renders "them incapable of being practised upon by art or stratagem: for those can only be exercised with success, "upon such as, having skill enough to suspect the designs "of their enemy, form schemes to countermine him, and, "in the mean time, are caught by new contrivances. "But he who has neither expectation nor suspicion of "that sort, gives his adversary no more opportunity, than "he who stands still, gives to a wrestler."

Soon after, the adventurer of Mendes sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis; and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in most of his operations; then his fears and suspicions increased, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Agesilaus could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides again, and at last return without effecting any thing. He therefore followed his standard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up, and began to open their trenches, in order to enclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a design he had formed.

The

The design was this. The enemy, as we have observed, were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to shut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded so far in the work, that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Egyptian, and said, "Now is the time, young man, for you to save yourself, "which I did not choose to speak of sooner, lest it should "be divulged and lost. The enemy, with their own hands, "have worked out your security, by labouring so long "upon the trench, that the part which is finished will "prevent our suffering by their numbers, and the space "which is left puts it in our power to fight them upon "equal terms. Come on then; now show your courage; "sally out along with us, with the utmost vigour, and "save both yourself and your army. The enemy will "not dare to stand us in front, and our flanks are secured "by the trench." Nectanabis now admiring his capacity, put himself in the middle of the Greeks, and advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agesilaus having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same stratagem, as a wrestler sometimes uses the same slight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, enclosed with two ditches that were very deep, and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge, with a front equal to theirs, and secured by the nature of the ground against being surrounded. The consequence was, that they made but little resistance; numbers were killed, and the rest fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs, and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agesilaus, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta, on account of the war she had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though, at the same time, she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis dismissed him with great marks of honour; and, beside other presents, furnished him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, for the expences of the Grecian war. But, as it was winter, he met with a storm

a ſtorm, which drove him upon a deſert ſhore in Africa, called the *haven of* Menelaus; and there he died, at the age of eighty-four years; of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. Above thirty years of that time he made the greateſt figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander in chief, and, as it were, king of all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the cuſtom of the Spartans to bury perſons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpſes of their kings home. And as the attendants of Ageſilaus had not honey to preſerve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and ſo conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His ſon Archidamus ſucceeded to the crown, which deſcended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Ageſilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was aſſaſſinated by Leonidas, for attempting to reſtore the ancient diſcipline of Sparta.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear, from the firſt, to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the ſame manner as Prometheus, in Æſchylus, was towards Hercules, when, after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he ſays,

> The fire I hated, but the ſon I love *.

For never did the Romans entertain a ſtronger and more rancorous hatred for any general, than for Strabo the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a ſoldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a ſtroke of lightning, they dragged his corpſe from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greateſt indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the ſame Romans an attachment more early begun, more diſintereſted in all the ſtages of his proſperity, or more

* Of the tragedy of Prometheus Releaſed, from which this line is taken, we have only ſome fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucaſus, and Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter, releaſed him.

more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father, was his insatiable avarice: but there were many causes of their affection for the son; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever * less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance, and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom, there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with the shining moisture † and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great, than that which appeared in the statues of that prince. So that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And ‡ Lucius Philippus, a man of consular dignity, if he was one day pleading for him, said, "It was no "wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

We are told, that Flora, the courtezan, took a pleasure, in her old age, in speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; and she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminius, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and gave her much trouble with his solicitations. At last, she told him, she could not consent on account of

* Ὡς μήδενος αλλοτριώτερον δεηθῆναι, μηδὲ ἧττον ἀναγκαίως δεομένου.
The Latin translation has taken δεηθῆναι in a passive sense—*cum quidem nemo rogatus, qui vel æquiori animo peti ubi se aliquid pateretur.* But this is inconsistent with the contrast which immediately follows.
One of the manuscripts has it, Ὡς μήδενος πρόθυμον—and Dacier appears to have followed it—*car il n'y avoit point d'homme plus reservé que lui à demander des services.*

† Ὑγρότης, signifies not only *moisture*, but *flexibility*. Lucian has ὑγρὸς μέλαν. And τῶν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα ῥυθμῶν ὑγρότης seems more applicable to the latter sense. However, we have given both.

‡ Lucius Martius Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace speaks of him, lib. i. ep. 7.

of Pompey. Upon which, he applied to Pompey for his permiſſion, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he ſeemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loſs of him, not with the ſlight uneaſineſs of a proſtitute, but was long ſick through ſorrow and regret. It is ſaid, that Flora was ſo celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Caſtor and Pollux with ſtatues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freed men, who had great intereſt with him, and who died worth four thouſand talents, had a wife of irreſiſtible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with leſs politeneſs than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. But though he took his meaſures with ſo much care and caution in this reſpect, he could not eſcape the cenſures of his enemies, who accuſed him of a commerce with married women, and ſaid he often neglected, or gave up, points eſſential to the public, to gratify his miſtreſſes.

As to the ſimplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable ſaying of his upon record. In a great illneſs, when his appetite was almoſt gone, the phyſician ordered him a thruſh. His ſervants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money; for the ſeaſon was paſt. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he ſaid, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of "Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the phyſician, he eat ſomething that was eaſy to be had. But this happened at a later period in life.

While he was very young, and ſerved under his father, who was carrying on the war againſt * Cinna, one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they ſlept in the ſame tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to aſſaſſinate Pompey, while others ſet fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at ſupper, and it did not put him in the leaſt confuſion. He drank more freely, and careſſed Terentius more than uſual; but when they were to have gone to reſt, he ſtole out

* In the year of Rome 666. And as Pompey was born the ſame year with Cicero, viz. in the year of Rome 647, he muſt, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

out of the tent, and went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as ſoon as he thought Pompey was aſleep, drew his ſword, and ſtabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The ſoldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to ſtrike their tents and take up their arms. The general dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance. But Pompey was every where; he begged of them with tears to ſtay, and at laſt threw himſelf upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were aſhamed to proceed, and all, except eight hundred, returned and reconciled themſelves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own uſe, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to anſwer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchiſed ſlaves, had ſecreted moſt of the money; and he took care to inform the magiſtrates of the particulars. He was accuſed, however, himſelf, of having taken ſome hunting nets and hooks out of the ſpoils of Aſculum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he loſt them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into, and pillaged his houſe. In this affair, he maintained the combat well with his adverſary at the bar, and ſhowed an acuteneſs and firmneſs above his years; which gained him ſo much applauſe, that Antiſtius, the prætor, who had the hearing of the cauſe, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The propoſal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however, had ſome notion of the thing from the pains which Antiſtius took for Pompey; and at laſt, when he pronounced the ſentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were, upon a ſignal given, broke out in the old marriage acclamation of *Talaſio*.

The origin of the term is ſaid to have been this. When the principal Romans ſeized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to ſee the games they were celebrating, to

entrap them, ſome herdſmen and ſhepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handſome; and, leſt ſhe ſhould be taken from them, as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, *Talaſio*. Talaſius was a young man, univerſally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the invention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us, the marriage of Talaſius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the moſt probable account I can find of the term *.

Pompey in a little time married Antiſtia; and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding ſome unjuſt charges laid againſt him there, he took the firſt private opportunity to withdraw. As he was no where to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: Upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the ſuperior officers, who purſued him with a drawn ſword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring, which was of no ſmall value. The officer anſwered, with great ferocity, "I am not come to "ſign a contract, but to puniſh an impious and lawleſs "tyrant," and then killed him upon the ſpot.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant ſtill more ſavage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great ſatisfaction of moſt of the Romans, who, in their preſent unhappy circumſtances, thought the change of their maſter no ſmall advantage. To ſuch a deſperate ſtate had their calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they fought only the moſt tolerable ſervitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whether he had retired, partly becauſe he had lands there, but moſt on account of an old attachment which the cities in that diſtrict had to his family. As he obſerved that the beſt and moſt conſiderable of the citizens left their houſes, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he reſolved to do the ſame. At the ſame time, he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a reſpectable manner at the head of an army. He therefore

* See more of this in the Life of Romulus.

therefore tried what levies he could make in the * Picene, and the people readily repaired to his ſtandard; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occaſion, one Vindius happening to ſay, "Pompey is juſt come from under the "hands of the pedagogue, and all on a ſudden is become "a demagogue among you," they were ſo provoked, that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commiſſion from any ſuperior authority, erected himſelf into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the moſt public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers who oppoſed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city: He enliſted ſoldiers; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom. He did the ſame in all the neighbouring cities; for the partiſans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the reſt were glad to range themſelves under his banners. So that in a little time he raiſed three complete legions, and furniſhed himſelf with proviſions, beaſts of burthen, carriages, in ſhort, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by haſty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himſelf; for he ſtopped by the way to haraſs the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo, all the parts of Italy through which he paſſed. At laſt, three generals of the oppoſite army, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came againſt him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demoliſh him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, aſſembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gauliſh horſe on the enemy's ſide ſuſtained the firſt ſhock; but Pompey attacked the foremoſt of them, who was a man of prodigious ſtrength, and brought him down with a puſh of his ſpear. The reſt immediately fled, and threw the infantry into ſuch diſorder, that the whole was ſoon put to flight. This produced ſo great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took ſeparate routs. In conſequence of which, the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the intereſts of Pompey.

* Now the March of Ancona.

Not long after, Scipio the conſul advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to diſcharge their lances, Scipio's ſoldiers ſaluted thoſe of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At laſt Carbo ſent a large body of cavalry againſt Pompey near the river Arſis. He gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were ſoon broken, and in the purſuit drove them upon impracticable ground; ſo that finding it impoſſible to eſcape, they ſurrendered themſelves with their arms and horſes.

Sylla had not yet been informed of theſe tranſactions; but upon the firſt news of Pompey's being engaged with ſo many adverſaries, and ſuch reſpectable generals, he dreaded the conſequence, and marched with all expedition to his aſſiſtance. Pompey having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to ſee that the troops were armed and drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to make the handſomeſt and moſt gallant appearance before the commander in chief: For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no ſooner ſaw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to the age and ſize of the men, and the ſpirits which ſucceſs had given them, than he alighted; and upon being ſaluted of courſe by Pompey, as *imperator*, he returned his ſalutation with the ſame title: though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the ſenate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The reſt of his behaviour was as reſpectful as that in the firſt interview. He uſed to riſe up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him; which he was rarely obſerved to do for any other, though he had a number of perſons of diſtinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with theſe honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to ſend him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his direction, he ſaid, "It was not right to take the command "from a man who was his ſuperior both in age and cha- "racter; but if Metellus ſhould deſire his aſſiſtance in the "conduct of the war, it was at his ſervice." Metellus accepted the propoſal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only ſignalized his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the ſpirit of adventure

venture in Metellus, which was almoſt extinguiſhed with age: juſt as braſs in a ſtate of fuſion is ſaid to melt a cold plate, ſooner than fire itſelf. But as it is not uſual, when a champion has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the liſts, and gained the prize in all the games, to record or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years; ſo the actions of Pompey, in this period, though extraordinary in themſelves, yet being eclipſed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I ſhall forbear to mention, leſt by dwelling upon his firſt eſſays, I ſhould not leave myſelf room for thoſe greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. But he was moſt ſtruck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was perſuaded that he owed more to his ſervices than thoſe of any other man. He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to take him into his alliance; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of his opinion, they perſuaded Pompey to divorce Antiſtia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was ſuitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey, to take Æmilia, pregnant as ſhe was, from another, and bring her into his houſe, and at the ſame time to repudiate Antiſtia, diſtreſſed as ſhe muſt be for a father whom ſhe had lately loſt on account of this cruel huſband. For Antiſtius was killed in the ſenate-houſe, becauſe it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cauſe of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herſelf. This was an additional ſcene of miſery in that tragical marriage; as was alſo the fate of Æmilia in Pompey's houſe, who died there in child-bed.

Soon after this, Sylla received an account, that Perpenna had made himſelf maſter of Sicily, where he afforded an aſylum to the party which oppoſed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that iſland; Domitius had entered Africa; and many other perſons of great diſtinction, who had eſcaped the fury of the proſcriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pom-

pey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harassed by the armies that were there before his, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction, alleging, that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted them by the Romans. He answered, "Will you "never have done with citing laws and privileges to men "who wear swords?" His behaviour, too, to Carbo, in his misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For, if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it. But, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he sat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the sword drawn, he was so much disordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

* Caius Oppius, the friend of Cæsar, writes, that Pompey likewise treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity. For, knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him (he says) aside, and after he had walked with him till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to take him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under a necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly. But others he suffered to escape, and even assisted some in getting off.

He had resolved to chastise the Himereans for attempting to support his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, "He would act unjustly, if he passed by the person "that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey asked

* The same who wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer, but his works of that kind are lost. He was mean enough to write a treatise to show, that Cæsario was not the son of Cæsar.

asked him, "Who was the guilty person," and he answered, "I am the man. I persuaded my friends, and "compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa, and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he set sail with a hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred storeships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage; immediately after which seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him six legions complete.

On his arrival he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing getting air, the rest of the troops concluded, that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make no use of them for several days they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last, they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to pass. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. But Pom-

pey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he paſſed the defile with the utmoſt expedition. The enemy ſtood upon their defence, but it was in a diſorderly and tumultuous manner, and the reſiſtance they made was neither general nor uniform. Beſides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The ſtorm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well diſtinguiſh each other. Nay, Pompey himſelf was in danger of being killed by a ſoldier who aſked him the word, and received not a ſpeedy anſwer. At length, however, he routed the enemy with great ſlaughter; not above three thouſand of them eſcaping out of twenty thouſand. The ſoldiers then ſaluted Pompey *imperator*, but he ſaid he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp ſtood untouched: therefore, if they choſe to confer ſuch an honour upon him, they muſt firſt make themſelves maſters of the entrenchments.

At that inſtant they advanced with great fury againſt them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of ſuch an accident as he had juſt eſcaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius ſlain; in conſequence of which, moſt of the cities immediately ſubmitted, and the reſt were taken by aſſault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, priſoner, and beſtowed his crown on Hiempſal. Advancing with the ſame tide of fortune, and while his army had all the ſpirits inſpired by ſucceſs, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for ſeveral days, and ſubdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to diſregard. Nay, he choſe not to leave the ſavage beaſts in the deſerts, without giving them a ſpecimen of the Roman valour and ſucceſs. Accordingly he ſpent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he paſſed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to ſend home the reſt of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a ſucceſſor. This gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs, which he kept to himſelf, but the army expreſſed their indignation aloud; inſomuch that when he intreated them to return to Italy,

they

they launched out into abuſive terms againſt Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or ſuffer him to truſt a tyrant. At firſt he endeavoured to pacify them with mild repreſentations; and when he found thoſe had no effect, he deſcended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they ſpent great part of the day; they inſiſting that he ſhould ſtay and keep the command, and he in perſuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At laſt, ſeeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he aſſured them, with an oath, "That he would kill himſelf, if they attempted to force him." And even this hardly brought them to deſiſt.

The firſt news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which, he ſaid to his friends, "Then it "is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old "age." This he ſaid, becauſe Marius, who was very young, had brought him into ſo much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and obſerved that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he reſolved to exceed them in his regards, if poſſible. He, therefore, haſtened to meet him, and embracing him in the moſt affectionate manner, ſaluted him aloud by the ſurname of *Magnus*, or *the great:* At the ſame time he ordered all about him to give him the ſame appellation. Others ſay, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authoriſed by Sylla. It is certain he was the laſt to take it himſelf, and he did not make uſe of it till a long time after, when he was ſent into Spain with the dignity of proconſul againſt Sertorius. Then he began to write himſelf in his letters, and in all his edicts, *Pompey the great;* for the world was accuſtomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this reſpect we may juſtly admire the wiſdom of the ancient Romans, who beſtowed on their great men ſuch honourable names and titles, not only for military atchievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the ſurname of *Maximus* to [a] Valerius, for reconciling them to the ſenate after a

[a] This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

violent diſſenſion, and to * Fabius Rullus for expelling ſome perſons deſcended of enfranchiſed ſlaves, who had been admitted into the ſenate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was oppoſed by Sylla. The latter alleged, "That the laws did not allow that honour to any "perſon who was not either conſul or prætor †. Hence "it was, that the firſt Scipio, when he returned victorious "from greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians "in Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither "conſul nor prætor." He added, "That if Pompey, who "was yet little better than a beardleſs youth, and who "was not of age to be admitted into the ſenate, ſhould "enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both "upon the dictator's power, and thoſe honours of his "friend." Theſe arguments Sylla inſiſted on, to ſhow him, he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in caſe he perſiſted, he would chaſtiſe his obſtinacy.

Pompey, not in the leaſt intimidated, bade him conſider, "That more worſhipped the riſing than the ſetting "ſun;" intimating that his power was increaſing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he ſaid, but perceiving by the looks and geſtures of the company that they were ſtruck with the expreſſion, he aſked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the ſpirit of Pompey, and cried, "Let him triumph! let him "triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a ſtrong ſpirit of envy and jealouſy on this occaſion, it is ſaid, that to mortify thoſe who gave into it the more, he reſolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that deſign, and contented himſelf with horſes.

His

* It was not his expelling the deſcendants of enfranchiſed ſlaves the ſenate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the ſurname of Maximus; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were diſperſed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. Theſe were called *tribus urbanæ*. Liv. ix. 46.

† Livy (Lib. xxxi. tells us, the ſenate refuſed L Cornelius Lentulus a triumph, for the ſame reaſon, though they thought his atchievements worthy of that honour.

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said, "He had rather give up "his triumph, than submit to flatter them." Whereupon, Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, "He now found Pompey really *the* "*Great*, and worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour, to lead up a triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till, with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised * Lepidus to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla seeing him conducted home by the people, through the *forum*, thus addressed him: "I see, young "man, you are proud of your victory. And undoubt"edly it was a great and extraordinary thing, by your "management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the "worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of "the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, "and be upon your guard. For you have now made "your adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey, appeared most plainly by his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus in the year of Rome 675.

Sylla's predictions were verified ſoon after his death. Lepidus wanted to uſurp the authority of a dictator; and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with ſpecious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and aſſembled the diſaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely ſuppreſs. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the ſenate and people were attached to him, and, in point of prudence and juſtice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government than the operations of war. This criſis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which ſide he ſhould take. He joined the honeſt party, and was declared general againſt Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was maſter of Ciſalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a conſiderable force.

When Pompey took the field, he eaſily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by haſty marches to Rome, and ſitting down before it, demanded a ſecond conſulſhip. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were diſſipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he aſſured them, he had terminated the war without ſtriking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, ſurrendered himſelf to Pompey; and having a party of horſe given him as an eſcort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, ſent Geminius the next day to diſpatch him; which brought no ſmall ſtain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the ſenate by letter, it was a meaſure that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters, containing heavy charges againſt him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Caſſius, ſlew Cæſar. But the ſon did not reſemble the father, either in war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being ſoon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in conſequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet (as we are told), by which he diſcovered that his wife had diſhonoured his bed.

At

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in poſſeſſion of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itſelf; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, juſt as in a dangerous diſeaſe all the vicious humours flow to a diſtempered part. He had already defeated ſeveral generals of leſs diſtinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in war; but age ſeemed to have abated that vigour, which is neceſſary for ſeizing and making the beſt advantage of critical occaſions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius ſnatched thoſe opportunities from him. He came on in the moſt daring manner, and more like a captain of banditti, than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuſcades, and other unforeſeen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whoſe ſkill lay in the management of heavy armed forces.

At this juncture, Pompey having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail with the ſenate to ſend him to the aſſiſtance of Metellus. Meantime, Catulus ordered him to diſband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at laſt, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occaſion, we are told, one of the ſenators, ſomewhat ſurpriſed at the motion, aſked him who made it, whether his meaning was to ſend out Pompey [*pro conſule*] as the repreſentative of a conſul? "No, anſwered he, but [*pro conſulibus*] "as the repreſentative of both conſuls;" intimating by this the incapacity of the conſuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is uſual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and ſuch of the Spaniſh nations as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expreſſed himſelf in a very inſolent and contemptuous manner with reſpect to Pompey: He ſaid, "He "ſhould want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to "chaſtiſe the boy with, were it not that he feared the old "woman;" meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus gave into a courſe of luxury and pleaſure, which no one could

have expected, and changed the simplicity of a soldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest; for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing touched Pompey so nearly as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms, when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thousand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the close of day. Both were afraid Metellus should come up; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the greatest honour, for he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon size. While they were close engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success; Pompey received only a slight wound, and he lopt off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken; but he escaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horse, with gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarrelled and came to blows about dividing the spoil.

Next morning at break of day, both drew up again, to give the finishing stroke to the victory, to which both laid claim. But, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that manner, and afterwards to knit again; so that Sertorius was often seen wan-

wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thouſand men, like a torrent ſwelled with ſudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus; and, upon approaching him, he ordered his *lictors* to lower the *faſces*, by way of compliment to Metellus as his ſuperior. But Metellus would not ſuffer it; and, indeed, in all reſpects he behaved to Pompey with great politeneſs, taking nothing upon him on account of his conſular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had ſeparate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various meaſures, by making his appearance at different places almoſt at the ſame inſtant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide. He cut off their proviſions, he laid waſte the country, he made himſelf maſter of the ſea; the conſequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own province, and to go into thoſe of others for ſupplies.

Pompey, having exhauſted moſt of his own fortune in ſupport of the war, applied to the ſenate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not ſend it him. Lucullus, who was then conſul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furniſh him with the money as ſoon as poſſible; becauſe he wanted to be employed himſelf in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to ſolicit the command againſt Mithridates, which was a more honourable, and yet appeared a leſs difficult commiſſion.

* Meantime Sertorius was aſſaſſinated by his own officers; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conſpirators, undertook to ſupply his place. He had, indeed, the ſame troops, the ſame magazines and ſupplies, but he had not the ſame underſtanding to make a proper uſe of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarraſſed as to the meaſures he ſhould take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to ſpread themſelves over the plain.

* It was three years after the conſulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was aſſaſſinated.

plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was buſied in the purſuit of that handful of men, he ſuddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Moſt of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himſelf was taken priſoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheleſs, Pompey is not to be accuſed of ingratitude, nor are we to ſuppoſe him, (as ſome will have it) forgetful of the ſervices he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wiſdom and dignity of mind that proved very ſalutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, ſhowed letters by which ſome of the moſt powerful men in Rome, who were deſirous to raiſe new commotions, and overturn the eſtabliſhment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey fearing thoſe letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finiſhing, put Perpenna to death, and burnt the papers without reading them. He ſtayed juſt long enough in Spain to compoſe the troubles, and to remove ſuch uneaſineſſes as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *ſervile* war was at the height.

Craſſus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might ſnatch the laurels out of his hand, reſolved to come to a battle, however hazardous it might prove. He ſucceeded, and killed twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in ſome ſort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thouſand of the ſlaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Craſſus, he wrote to the ſenate, "That Craſſus had beaten the gladiators in a "pitched battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the "war by the roots." The Romans took a pleaſure in ſpeaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was ſuch, that no part of the ſucceſs in Spain, againſt Sertorius, was aſcribed by a man of them, either in jeſt or earneſt, to any but Pompey.

Yet theſe honours and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with ſome fears and jealouſies that he would not diſband his army, but, treading in the ſteps of Sylla, raiſe himſelf by the ſword to ſovereign power, and maintain

tain himself in it, as Sylla had done *. Hence, the number of those that went out of fear to meet him and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues; which was, that he paid more attention to the commons than to the senate; and whereas Sylla had destroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to re-establish it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: For there never was any thing they had so much set their hearts upon, or longed for so extravagantly, as to see the tribunitial power, put in their hands again. So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity to bring that affair about; knowing that if any one should be beforehand with him in this design, he should never find any means of making so agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

A second † triumph was decreed him together with the consulship. But these were not considered as the most extraordinary instances of his power. The strongest proof of his greatness was, that Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent, and most powerful man in the administration, who used to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without first asking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wished for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the

* Cicero, in his epistles to Atticus, says, Pompey made but little secret of this unjustifiable ambition. These passages are remarkable. *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit: Ειδοις σοι λεγω, nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit.* Lib. vii. ep. 9. "Our "friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of "Sylla: I tell you no more than what I know, for he makes no secret of "it." And again; *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Sylla turit animus ejus, et proscripturit.* Ibid. ep. 10. "Pompey has been "forming this infamous design for these two years past; so strongly is he "bent upon imitating Sylla, and prescribing like him." Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars Cæsar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

† He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without first bearing the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

the application with pleasure, and made great interest with the people in his behalf; declaring he should take their giving him Crassus for a colleague, as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet when they were elected consuls, they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people. For he had restored them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made, that * judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order. However, the most agreeable spectacle of all to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time ordered by law, to lead his horse into the *forum*, before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. On these occasions they received proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order, when Pompey was seen at a distance with all the badges of his office, as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horse in his hand, to the foot of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place; at the same time a joy, mingled with reverence, was visible in the countenances of the censors. The senior censor then addressed him as follows: "Pompey the Great, "I demand of you, whether you have served all the cam-"paigns required by law?" He answered with a loud voice, "I have served them all; and all under myself, as "general." The people were so charmed with this answer, that there was no end of their acclamations: At last, the censors rose up, and conducted Pompey to his house, to

* L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch says *again*, because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudeſt plaudits.

When the end of his conſulſhip approached, and his difference with Craſſus was increaſing daily, Caius * Aurelius, a man who was of the equeſtrian order, but had never intermeddled with ſtate affairs, one day, when the people were met in full aſſembly, aſcended the *roſtra*, and ſaid, "Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the conſuls, that they muſt "take care to be reconciled before they laid down their "office." Pompey ſtood ſtill, and held his peace; but Craſſus went and gave him his hand, and ſaluted him in a friendly manner. At the ſame time he addreſſed the people, as follows: "I think, my fellow citizens, there "is nothing diſhonourable or mean in making the firſt "advances to Pompey, whom you ſcrupled not to dig-"nify with the name of *the great*, when he was yet but "a beardleſs youth, and for whom you voted two triumphs "before he was a ſenator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the conſulſhip.

Craſſus continued his former manner of life; but Pompey now ſeldom choſe to plead the cauſes of thoſe that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed, he ſeldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; ſo that it was not eaſy either to ſpeak to him or ſee him, but in the midſt of a crowd. He took pleaſure in having a number of retainers about him, becauſe he thought it gave him an air of greatneſs and majeſty, and he was perſuaded that dignity ſhould be kept from being ſoiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For thoſe who are raiſed to greatneſs by arms, and know not how to deſcend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they reſume the robe of peace. The ſoldier is deſirous to preſerve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who cannot diſtinguiſh himſelf in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the adminiſtration too. When therefore the latter has got the man who ſhone in camps and triumphs, into the aſſemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the ſame pre-eminence there, of courſe

* Ovatius Aurelius.

courſe he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domeſtic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This ſoon appeared from the ſubſequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progreſs was the more dangerous, becauſe at firſt it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they aſſumed new confidence and courage, on account of ſome ſervices they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the ſea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ſhips, but iſlands and maritime towns. Many perſons, diſtinguiſhed for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and aſſiſted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arſenals, ports, and watch-towers, all ſtrongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, ſupplied with ſkilful pilots, and fitted for their buſineſs by their lightneſs and celerity; but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their ſtrength, in gilded ſterns, purple canopies, and plated oars, as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Muſic reſounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coaſt. Here generals were made priſoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ranſom; all to the great diſgrace of the Roman power. The number of their gallies amounted to a thouſand, and the cities they were maſters of, to four hundred.

Temples, which had ſtood inviolably ſacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros, that, where he was worſhipped, under the title of * Didymæus, that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of † Ceres at Hermiona, that of Æſculapius at Epidaurus, thoſe of Neptune in the Iſthmus, at Tænarus and in Calauria, thoſe of Apollo at Actium and in the iſle of Leucas, thoſe

* So called from Didymæ, in the territories of Miletus.

† Pauſanias *(in Laconic.)* tells us, the Lacedemonians worſhip Ceres under the name of *Chthonia*; and *(in Corinthiac,)* he gives us the reaſon of her having that name. "The Argives ſay, that Chthonia, the daughter of Colontas, having been ſaved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddeſs, who was worſhipped there under the name of Chthonia.

thoſe of Juno at Samus, Argos, and the promontory of * Lacinium.

They likewiſe offered ſtrange ſacrifices, thoſe of † Olympus I mean; and they celebrated certain ſecret myſteries, among which thoſe of ‡ Mithra continue to this day, being originally inſtituted by them. They not only inſulted the Romans at ſea, but infeſted the great roads and plundered the villas near the coaſt: They carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their ſervants and *lictors*. They ſeized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as ſhe was going to her country-houſe, and he was forced to pay a large ranſom for her.

But the moſt contemptuous circumſtances of all was, that when they had taken a priſoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be ſtruck with terror, ſmote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to aſk him pardon. The poor man ſeeing them thus humble themſelves before him, thought them in earneſt, and ſaid he would forgive them; for ſome were ſo officious as to put on his ſhoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be miſtaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for ſome time, they let a ladder down into the ſea, and bade him go in peace; and, if he refuſed to do it, they puſhed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuſcan ſea, ſo that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The conſequence of which was, that their markets were not ſupplied, and they had reaſon to apprehend a famine. This at laſt put them upon ſending Pompey to clear the ſea of pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimate friends, propoſed the decree § which created him, not

* The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of *Leucanium*, but two manuſcripts give us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia*.

† Not on mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaſelis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What ſort of ſacrifices they uſed to offer there, is not known.

‡ According to Herodotus, the Perſians worſhipped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the ſun is worſhipped in that country.

§ This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he propoſed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinius, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings, were moreover comprehended in it. Besides this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in such districts, and with such authority, as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and * one of the consuls venturing to say, "If "he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law out of reverence for his person they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but no a man would give ear to him. However, he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal, they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the *forum*, was stunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may con-

clude

* The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Acilius Glabrio

clude, that when birds fall on such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent an agitation.

The assembly broke up that day, without coming to any resolution. When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which, he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out five hundred gallies, and to raise an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæstors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased; and it gave them occasion to say, "The very "name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself with sixty of his best gallies; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. But, as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundusium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his

way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the ſpeed with which he had executed his commiſſion, ſo far beyond all expectation, and to the ſuperabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reaſon Piſo was in danger of being depoſed from the conſulſhip, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpoſe. But Pompey would not ſuffer him to propoſe it. On the contrary, his ſpeech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided ſuch things as he wanted, he went to Bunduſium, and put to ſea again. Though he was ſtraitened for time, and in his haſte ſailed by many cities without calling, yet he ſtopped at Athens. He entered the town and ſacrificed to the gods; after which he addreſſed the people, and then prepared to reimbark immediately. As he went out of the gate he obſerved two inſcriptions, each compriſed in one line.

That within the gate was—

But know thyſelf a man, and be a god.

That without—

We wiſh'd, we ſaw; we lov'd, and we ador'd.

Some of the pirates who yet traverſed the ſeas, made their ſubmiſſion; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ſhips in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and, avoiding the other officers, ſurrendered themſelves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He ſpared them all; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themſelves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the moſt powerful part of theſe corſairs, who ſent their families, treaſures, and all uſeleſs hands, into caſtles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ſhips, and waited for Pompey at Coraceſium in Cilicia. A battle enſued, and the pirates were defeated; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long beſieged before they capitulated, and ſurrendered themſelves, together with the cities and iſlands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as ſituation, were almoſt impregnable. Thus the war

war was finiſhed, and the whole force of the pirates deſtroyed, within three months at the fartheſt.

Beſide the other veſſels, Pompey took ninety ſhips with beaks of braſs; and the priſoners amounted to twenty thouſand. He did not chooſe to put them to death, and at the ſame time he thought it wrong to ſuffer them to diſperſe, becauſe they were not only numerous, but warlike and neceſſitous, and therefore would probably knit again, and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a ſavage nor unſocial creature; and when he becomes ſo, it is by vices contrary to nature; yet even then he may be humaniſed by changing his place of abode, and accuſtoming him to a new manner of life; as beaſts that are naturally wild, put off their fierceneſs, when they are kept in a domeſtic way. For this reaſon, he determined to remove the pirates to a great diſtance from the ſea, and bring them to taſte the ſweets of civil life, by living in cities and by the culture of the ground. He placed ſome of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almoſt deſolate, and which received them with pleaſure, becauſe at the ſame time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of * Soli, which had lately been diſmantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of theſe corſairs. The remainder, which was a conſiderable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy, found fault with theſe proceedings; but his conduct with reſpect to Metellus in Crete, was not agreeable to his beſt friends. This was a relation of that Metellus who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been ſent into Crete ſome time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was the ſecond nurſery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had deſtroyed many neſts of them there, and the remainder, who were beſieged by him at this time, addreſſed themſelves to Pompey as ſuppliants, and invited him into the iſland, as included in his commiſſion, and falling within the diſtance he had a right to carry his arms from the ſea. He liſtened to their application, and by let-

ter

* He called it after his own name Pompeiopolis.

ter enjoined Metellus to take no farther ſteps in the war. At the ſame time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he ſent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the beſieged, and fought on their ſide. A circumſtance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more abſurd, than to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo blinded by his envy and jealouſy of Metellus, as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be uſed as a kind of amulet to defend them. Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant paſſion for fame, when he made ſigns to his troops not to touch Hector,

> Leſt ſome ſtrong arm ſhould ſnatch the glorious prize
> Before Pelides.————

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to deſtroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, purſued his operations till he took the pirates and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he expoſed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he diſmiſſed him.

When news was brought to Rome, that the war with the pirates was finiſhed, and that Pompey was beſtowing his leiſure upon viſiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, propoſed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewiſe Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes; for which purpoſe he was alſo to retain his naval command. This was ſubjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man. For, the provinces, which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces, which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a perſon to ſucceed him in his triumph, rather than in the war; but that was not the thing which affected the patricians moſt. They were per-

ſuaded

ſuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injuſtice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumſtance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a * tyranny. They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppoſe the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one ſpoke on the occaſion but Catulus. He urged many arguments againſt the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addreſſed himſelf to the ſenators, and called upon them many times from the *roſtrum*, "To ſeek ſome "mountain, as their anceſtors had done, ſome rock whi-"ther they might fly for the preſervation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was paſſed by all the tribes †, and almoſt the ſame univerſal authority conferred upon Pompey in his abſence, which Sylla did not gain but by the ſword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occaſion, he is ſaid to have knit his brows, ſmote his thigh, and expreſſed himſelf as if he was already overburthened and wearied with the weight of power ‡: "Alas! is there "no end of my conflicts? How much better would it have "been to be one of the undiſtinguiſhed many, than to be "perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to "fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domeſtic happineſs, "and conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the diſſimulation of this ſpeech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and luſt of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had

* "We have then got at laſt," ſaid they, "a ſovereign; the republic is "changed into a monarchy; the ſervices of Lucullus, the honour of Gla-"brio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy ſenators, are to be ſacrificed to "the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny ſo far."

† Two great men ſpoke in favour of the law, namely Cicero and Cæſar. The former aimed at the conſulate, which Pompey's party could more eaſily procure him, than that of Catulus and the ſenate. As for Cæſar, he was delighted to ſee the people inſenſibly loſe that republican ſpirit and love of liberty, which might one day obſtruct the vaſt deſigns he had already formed.

‡ Is it poſſible to read this without recollecting the ſimilar character of our Richard the Third.

with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference, on that account.

His actions soon unmasked the man. He caused public notice to be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes there allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus; remitting the fines he had imposed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In short, he omitted no means to show the partizans of that general that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of course, complained of this treatment; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to come to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the *lictors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which the servants of Lucullus no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his *fasces* with them. This seemed to be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at first the face of great politeness and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations: But they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded to abusive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power; insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all his soldiers, except sixteen hundred, who, he knew, were so mutinous, that they would be as unserviceable to him as they had been ill affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucul-

"lus, he said, were only mock-battles, and he had fought "with nothing but the shadows of kings; but that it was "left for *him* to contend with real strength, and well-dis-"ciplined armies; since Mithridates had betaken him-"self to swords and shields, and knew how to make a "proper use of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it was nothing new to Pompey to fight with "phantoms and shadows of war: for, like a dastardly "bird, he had been accustomed to prey upon those whom "he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a "dying opposition. Thus he had arrogated to himself "the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, "which originally belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and "Crassus. Consequently he did not wonder that he was "come to claim the honour of finishing the wars of Ar-"menia and Pontus, after he had thrust himself into the "triumph over the fugitive slaves."

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, because it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was for a short time plentifully supplied with water *. He was not a little surprised that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what

* Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before, in the Macedonian war.

was to befal him. He thought he was upon the Pontic ſea, ſailing with a favourable wind, and in ſight of the Boſphorus; ſo that he felicitated his friends in the ſhip, like a man perfectly ſafe, and already in harbour. But ſuddenly he beheld himſelf in the moſt deſtitute condition, ſwimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a neceſſity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all poſſible expedition.

Pompey ſeeing them prepared, was loth to riſk a battle in the dark. He thought it ſufficient to ſurround them, ſo as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him ſtill more to wait for day-light, was the conſideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldeſt of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at laſt prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her ſetting, gave light enough to diſtinguiſh objects. But it was a great diſadvantage to the king's troops, that the moon was ſo low, and on the backs of the Romans; becauſe ſhe projected their ſhadows ſo far before them, that the enemy could form no juſt eſtimate of the diſtances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the leaſt execution.

The Romans perceiving their miſtake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in ſuch a conſternation, that they made not the leaſt ſtand, and, in their flight, vaſt numbers were ſlain. They loſt above ten thouſand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horſe in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they diſperſed, and left him with only three of his people; one of which was his concubine Hypſicratia, a woman of ſuch a maſculine and daring ſpirit, that the king uſed to call her Hypſicrates. She then rode a Perſian horſe, and was dreſſed in a man's habit, of the faſhion of that nation. She complained not in the leaſt of the length of the march; and beſide that fatigue, ſhe waited on the king, and took care of his horſe, till they reached the caſtle

caſtle of * Inora, where the king's treaſure, and his moſt valuable moveables were depoſited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and beſtowed them on thoſe who repaired to him after their flight. He furniſhed each of his friends, too, with a quantity of poiſon, that none of them, againſt their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his deſign was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up the cauſe, and ſet a price of no leſs than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having paſſed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the mean time, Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its riſe near the ſource of the Euphrates, but bends its courſe eaſtward, and empties itſelf into the Caſpian ſea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they paſſed. As for Tigranes the father he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane diſpoſition, he received a Roman garriſon into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went to ſurrender himſelf. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's *lictors* came and ordered him to diſmount, and enter on foot; aſſuring him that no man was ever ſeen on horſeback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his ſword, and gave it them. As ſoon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was ſtill worſe, he was going to proſtrate himſelf, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one ſide of him, and his ſon on the other. Then addreſſing himſelf to the father, he ſaid, "As to "what you had loſt before, you loſt it to Lucullus. It "was he who took from you Syria, Phenicia, Cilicia, "Galatia, and Sophene. But what you kept till my "time, I will reſtore you, on condition you pay the Ro-"mans a fine of ſix thouſand talents for the injury you

* It ſeems from a paſſage in Strabo, (B. xii.) that, inſtead of *Inora*, we ſhould read, *Sinoria*: For that was one of the many fortreſſes Mithridates had built between the greater and the leſs Armenia.

"have done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him King, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *minæ*, and every tribune a talent. But his son was little pleased at the determination; and when he was invited to supper, he said, "He had no "need of such honours from Pompey; for he could find "another Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long after, Phraates, king of Parthia, sent to demand the young prince, as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his fa"ther than his father-in-law; and as for the boundary, "justice should direct it."

When he had dispatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bordering on Mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass in search of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moschian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians stretch more to the east, and extend to the Caspian sea. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage; but as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces to the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them; and for that purpose passed the * Cyrnus. The Cyrnus rises in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in its course by the Araxes from Armenia, it discharges itself, by twelve mouths, into the Caspian sea. Some say, the † Araxes does not run into it, but has a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great num-

bers

* Strabo and Pliny call this river *Cyrus*, and so Plutarch probably wrote it.

† This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

bers on the spot. Their king sent ambassadors to beg for mercy; upon which, Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were very desirous to signalize their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians. They escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated this people, too, in a great battle, in which he killed no less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties; for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back, and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he passed the Cyrnus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their sides with pallisades all along the banks. And when he was over, he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling ten thousand bottles; and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river * Abas, to the number of sixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, but many of them ill armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind but skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother named Cosis; who, at the beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breast-plate. Pompey in return run him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. It is said, that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did indeed meet with bucklers in the form of a

* This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it *Albanus*.

half-moon, and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of mount Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian sea, and are not next neighbours to the * Albanians; for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: After which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian sea, and march by its coasts into Hyrcania †; but he found the number of venomous serpents so trouble-some, that he was forced to return, when ‡ three days march more would have carried him as far as he proposed. The next route he took was into Armenia the less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the § Elymæans and the Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Mean time the king of Parthia had entered Gordyenne, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the route, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the best part of the king's treasures was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates

* The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-disciplined. Their offensive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defensive armour was made of the skins of beasts.

† — Ελαυνειν επι την Υρκανιαν και Κασπιαν αλλοφυλων. — Plutarch mentions the Caspian sea after Hyrcania. But as that sea lies very near Albania, there was no necessity for Pompey to go through Hyrcania to it. Perhaps Plutarch meant the other extremity of the Caspian sea.

‡ Τριων ὁδον ἡμερων αποστασιν. The former English translator erroneously renders this, was forced to retreat *after three days march.*

§ Strabo (Lib. xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Messabatice, and Corbiane. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuse submission to the king of Parthia.

dates at an entertainment, and he was ſo much pleaſed with her, that he took her to his bed that night, and ſent the old man home in no very good humour, becauſe he had taken his daughter without condeſcending to ſpeak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he ſaw tables covered with veſſels of gold and ſilver, a great retinue of eunuchs, and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horſe with ſuch magnificent furniture, as is provided for thoſe who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an inſult and burleſque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight; but the ſervants ſtopped him, and aſſured him, that the king had given him the houſe of a rich nobleman lately deceaſed, and that what he ſaw was only the firſt fruits, a ſmall earneſt, of the fortune he intended him. At laſt he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded that the ſcene was not viſionary; he put on the purple and mounted the horſe, and as he rode through the city, cried out, "All "this is mine." The inhabitants, of courſe, laughed at him; and he told them, "They ſhould not be ſurpriſed "at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did "not throw ſtones at them."

From ſuch a glorious ſource ſprung *Stratonice.*

She ſurrendered, to Pompey, the caſtle, and made him many magnificent preſents; however he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the ſolemnities of religion, and add luſtre to his triumph. The reſt he deſired ſhe would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia ſent him a bedſtead, a table, and a throne, all of maſſy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the queſtors apply them to the purpoſes of the public revenue.

In the caſtle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates; and he read them with ſome pleaſure, becauſe they diſcovered that prince's real character. From theſe memoirs it appeared that he had taken off many perſons by poiſon, among whom were his own ſon Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique againſt the latter took its riſe merely from his having better horſes for the race than he. There were alſo interpretations, both of his own dreams and thoſe of his wives; and the laſcivious letters which had paſſed between him and Monime.

mine. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by * Rutilius, exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia. But most people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, because he was a perfect contrast to him; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was represented in Rutilius's histories as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon, Pompey marched to Amisus; where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. He had censured Lucullus much for disposing of provinces at a time when the war was alive, and for bestowing other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors use to grant after their wars are absolutely terminated. And yet when Mithridates was master of the Bosphorus, and had assembled a very respectable army again, the same Pompey did the very thing he had censured. As if he had finished the whole, he disposed of governments, and distributed other rewards among his friends. On that occasion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of King of Kings, by which he was usually addressed.

He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and passing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the great sea; in Spain he stretched Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian sea. In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he saw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason he said, "He would leave him a stronger enemy "than the Romans to cope with, which was mine." In pursuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ships to

* P. Rutilius Rufus was consul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, he refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, which Appian made great use of.

to cruise about, and prevent any veſſels from entering the Bosphorus with proviſions; and that death ſhould be the puniſhment for ſuch as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the beſt part of his army, he found the bodies of thoſe Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between * Triarius and Mithridates, ſtill uninterred. He gave them an honourable burial; and the omiſſion of it ſeems to have contributed not a little to the averſion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he ſubdued the Arabians about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and deſcended himſelf into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, becauſe it had no lawful king †. He reduced Judea, and took its king Ariſtobulus priſoner. He founded ſome cities, and ſet others free; puniſhing the tyrants who had enſlaved them. But moſt of his time was ſpent in adminiſtring juſtice, and in deciding the diſputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himſelf, he ſent his friends: The Armenians and Parthians, for inſtance, having referred the difference they had about ſome territory, to his deciſion, he ſent three arbitrators to ſettle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally reſpectable as to virtue and moderation. This was the thing which palliated moſt of his faults, and thoſe of his miniſters. He knew not how to reſtrain or puniſh the offences of thoſe he employed, but he gave ſo gracious a reception to thoſe who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill ſatisfied with all they had ſuffered from their avarice and oppreſſion.

His firſt favourite was Demetrius, his enfranchiſed ſlave; a young man, who, in other reſpects, did not want underſtanding, but who made an inſolent uſe of his good fortune. They tell us this ſtory of him. Cato the philoſopher, then a young man, but already celebrated for his

* Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred and fifty centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken.

† Pompey took the temple of Jeruſalem, killing no leſs than twelve thouſand Jews in the action. He entered the temple, contrary to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utenſils, or the treaſure belonging to it. Ariſtobulus preſented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterwards conſecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

virtue and greatneſs of mind, went to ſee Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to cuſtom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horſeback. When he approached the city, he ſaw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one ſide, and of boys on the other. This gave the philoſopher pain; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want. However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As ſoon as they were near enough to be ſpoke with, the maſter of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a ſtaff of office in his hand, came up, and aſked them, "Where they had left Demetrius, and when he might be "expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato ſaid only, "Alas, poor city!" and ſo paſſed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the inſolence of Demetrius, becauſe Pompey bore with it himſelf. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius ſeated himſelf in a diſreſpectful manner at table, with his * cap of liberty pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy, he had purchaſed the pleaſanteſt villas about Rome, with magnificent † apartments for entertaining his friends, and ſome of the moſt elegant and expenſive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himſelf was ſatisfied with an indifferent houſe till his third triumph. Afterwards he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome, and, as an appendage to it, built himſelf a houſe, much handſomer than the former, but not oſtentatiouſly great; for he who came to be maſter of it after him, at his firſt entrance was ſurpriſed, and aſked, "Where was the room in which Pompey the Great uſed "to ſup." Such is the account we have of theſe matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto conſidered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and ſent letters to acquaint him, that he was ready

* The word ἱματιον ſignifies here the cap of liberty worn by freedmen, not the flaps of a robe, which was all that the other Romans had to cover their heads with. Indeed, generally, they went bare-headed.

† The Latin tranſlator renders των ἡβητηριων τα καλλιστα, *pulcherrima gymnaſia*; and Dacier, *les plus beaux parcs pour les exercices de la jeuneſſe*; but Athenæus (l. x.) gives us a more appoſite ſenſe of the word ἡβητηρια καλεισθαι τα συμποσια. Dining-rooms might be called ἡβητηρια, becauſe youth and mirth convey ſimilar ideas.

ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the ſincerity of his profeſſions, marched againſt Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excuſed purſuing Mithridates, againſt whom they would have had him turn, as againſt the ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy, who, according to all accounts, had ſo far recovered his ſtrength, as to propoſe marching through Sythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much eaſier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuſe himſelf with a fruitleſs purſuit, but rather choſe to wait for a new emergency, and, in the mean time, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune ſoon reſolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra, and encamped for that day, and was taking ſome exerciſe on horſeback without the trenches, when meſſengers arrived from Pontus, and it was plain they brought good news, becauſe the points of their ſpears were crowned with laurel. The ſoldiers ſeeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finiſh his exerciſe before he opened the packet; but they were ſo earneſt in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the ſoldiers were too impatient to raiſe one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-ſaddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. "He killed himſelf upon the revolt of his ſon Pharnaces. "And Pharnaces has ſeized all that belonged to his fa- "ther; which he declares he has done for himſelf and "the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a looſe to their joy, which they expreſſed in ſacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thouſand of their enemies had been ſlain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a concluſion ſo happy, and ſo far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traverſed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and ſoon arrived at Amiſus. There he found many preſents from Pharnaces, and ſeveral corpſes of the royal family, among which

which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be eaſily known, becauſe the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that, the features were diſfigured. Yet ſome that were curious to examine it, diſtinguiſhed it by the ſcars. As for Pompey, he would not ſee the body, but to propitiate * the avenging deity, ſent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the ſize and beauty of his arms. The ſcabbard of the ſword which coſt four hundred talents, was ſtolen by one Publius, who ſold it to Ariarathes. And Caius the foſter-brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, and gave it privately to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This eſcaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces diſcovering it afterwards, puniſhed the perſons guilty of the theft.

Pompey having thoroughly ſettled the affairs of Aſia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and ſolemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the ſake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was preſent at the anniverſary exerciſes of the poets, whoſe ſole ſubject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was ſo much pleaſed with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a deſign to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the Sophiſts, and preſented each of them with a talent. Poſidonius committed the diſcourſe to writing, which he made before him againſt the poſition of Hermagoras, another profeſſor of rhetoric, concerning † invention in general. He behaved with equal munificence to the philoſophers at Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greateſt and happieſt of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the Deity, whoſe care it is always to mix ſome portion of evil with the higheſt and moſt ſplendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a ſad welcome

* Nemeſis.

† Hermagoras was for reducing *invention* under two general heads, the reaſon of the proceſs, and the ſtate of the queſtion; which limitation Cicero diſapproved as much as his maſter Poſidonius. Vide Cicer. de Invent. Rhetor. Lib. 1.

This Poſidonius, who is of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Poſidonius of Alexandria, the diſciple of Zeno.

welcome in his house. Mucia*, in his absence, had dishonoured his bed. While he was at a distance, he disregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he sent her a divorce, without assigning his reasons either then or afterwards. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's epistles.

People talked variously at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himself sole and absolute master there. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy; the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner set foot in Italy, then he called an assembly of his soldiers, and, after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse in their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.

As soon as it was known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on this account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso. But Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would appear

* Mucia was sister to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæsar; for which reason, when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife, by whom he had three children, to espouse the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a sigh, called his Ægisthus. Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation. Lib. i. ep. xii.

pear so openly for them, determined to gain him if possible; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and asked the other for his son. Cato, however, suspected the bait, and looked upon the proposed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the great regret of his wife and sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey being desirous to get the consulship for Afronius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was so public, that Pompey was much censured for making that office venal, which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the highest honour in the state to those who had money, but wanted merit. Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was so great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judea, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was mentioned that there were not less than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities taken; eight hundred gallies taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine desolate cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted but to fifty millions of *drachmas*, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty five millions; and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury, in money, and in gold, and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima

the

the wife of Tigranes, himself; Ariſtobulus, king of Judea; the ſiſter of Mithridates, with her five ſons; and ſome Scythian women. The hoſtages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene alſo appeared in the train; and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in perſon or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not ſmall.

But the moſt honourable circumſtance, and what no other Roman could boaſt, was, that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs: but his firſt triumph was over Africa, his ſecond over Europe, and his third over Aſia; ſo that the three ſeemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Thoſe who deſire to make the parallel between him and Alexander agree in all reſpects, tell us he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas in fact he was entering upon his * fortieth year. Happy had it been for him, if he had ended his days, while he was bleſt with Alexander's good fortune! The reſt of his life, every inſtance of ſucceſs brought its proportion of envy, and every miſcarriage was irretrievable. For the authority which he had gained by his merit, he employed for others in a way not very honourably; and his reputation conſequently ſinking, as they grew in ſtrength, he was inſenſibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As it happens in a ſiege, every ſtrong work that is taken adds to the beſieger's force; ſo Cæſar, when raiſed by the influence of Pompey, turned that power which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himſelf. It happened in this manner.

Lucullus, who had been treated ſo unworthily by Pompey in Aſia, upon his return to Rome met with the moſt honourable reception from the ſenate; and they gave him ſtill greater marks of their eſteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awake his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the adminiſtration. But his ſpirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himſelf up to the pleaſures of eaſe, and the enjoyments

* It ſhould be forty-ſixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and forty-ſeven, and his triumph was in the ſame month in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ninety-two.

enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate, through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people, and to the young plebians: Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself with the people. And, as if the connection with him had been an honour, instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the greatest use to him in the administration. And these wages he obtained. For when Cicero came to be in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him; and, shutting his gates against those that came to intercede for him, went out at a back-door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the issue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

At this * time Cæsar returning from his province undertook an affair, which rendered him very popular at present, and in its consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would be his enemy of course; he therefore set himself to reconcile them. A thing which seemed honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good; but the intention was perfidious, though deep laid and covered with the most refined policy. For while the power of the state was divided, it kept it in an *equilibrium*, as the burthen of a ship properly distributed, keeps it from inclining to one side more than another, but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance it

* It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæsar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor, but two years before. Cæsar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

it, it overſet and deſtroyed the commonwealth. Hence it was, that when ſome were obſerving that the conſtitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæſar and Pompey, Cato ſaid, "You are under "a great miſtake: It was not their late diſagreement, but "their former union and connection which gave the conſtitution the firſt and greateſt blow."

To this union Cæſar owed his conſulſhip: And he was no ſooner appointed, than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by propoſing laws for ſending out colonies and for the diſtribution of lands; by which he deſcended from the dignity of a conſul, and in ſome ſort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus oppoſed him, and Cato prepared to ſupport Bibulus in the moſt ſtrenuous manner; when Cæſar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and aſked him, before the whole aſſembly, "Whether he approved his laws?" and upon his anſwering in the affirmative, he put this farther queſtion, "Then, if any one ſhall with violence oppoſe theſe laws, will you come to the aſſiſtance of the "people?" Pompey anſwered, "I will certainly come; "and againſt thoſe who threaten to take the ſword, I will "bring forth ſword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never ſaid any thing ſo obnoxious; and his friends could only ſay, by way of apology, that it was an expreſſion which had eſcaped him. But it appeared by the ſubſequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæſar's devotion. For within a few days, to the ſurpriſe of all the world, he married Julia, Cæſar's daughter, who had been promiſed to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appeaſe the reſentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla; and Cæſar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piſo.

Pompey then filled the city with ſoldiers, and carried every thing with open force. Upon Bibulus the conſul's making his appearance in the *forum*, together with Lucullus and Cato, the ſoldiers ſuddenly fell upon him, and broke his *faſces*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a baſket of dung upon the head of Bibulus; and two tribunes of the people who accompanied him were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all oppoſition, the law paſſed for the diviſion of lands. The people, caught by

by this bait, became tame and tractable in all respects, and, without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed; and the two Gauls, on this and the other side the Alps and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office *; contenting himself with publishing manifestoes full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full se nate the calamities which would befall the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up a thoughts of state affairs, and betook himself to repo as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of gover ment. Upon which Pompey observed, "That it w "more unseasonable for an old man to give himself up "luxury, than to bear a public employment." Yet, n withstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he gave his time to her; he spent the day with her in his villas a gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs; insom that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and to g gage in the boldest designs against him. For, after he h banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under preten of giving him the command in that island, when Cæ was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribu found the people entirely devoted to him, because he fla tered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he at tempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At le when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecution Clodius having a crew of profligate and insolent wretch about

* Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, such a thing happened the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship o Julius and Cæsar.

about him, ascended an eminence, and put the following questions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is "the man that seeks for a man *? Who scratches his "head with one finger †?" And his creatures, like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, *Pompey* ‡.

These things gave Pompey uneasiness, because it was a new thing to him to be spoken ill of, and he was entirely unexperienced in that sort of war. That which afflicted him most, was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came to blows in the *forum*, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of the servants of Clodius was observed to creep in among the crowd, towards Pompey, with a drawn sword in his hand; he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to stand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends how to disarm the anger of the senate, and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo advised him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendship of Cæsar for that of the senate; but he would not hearken to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recal Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite of the senate; and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a scuffle, in which several were wounded, and some slain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return, the

* Τις ανηρ ζητει ανδρα. Ζητειν ανδρα was a proverbial expression brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from Æsop's seeking an honest man with a lanthorn at noon-day; and, by degrees, it came to signify the loss of manhood, or the manly character, which loss Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the embraces of Julia.

† *Uno scalpere Digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman petit-maitre.

‡ Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio, (Book xxxix.) that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to intrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn *, he made Pompey once more master of the Roman empire, both by sea and land. For by this law, the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the whole business of the merchant and the husbandman, were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law "was not made on account of the real scarcity of pro"visions, but that an artificial scarcity was caused for the "sake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by a new "commission, might bring his power to life again, which "was sunk, as it were, in a *deliquium*." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to re-establish † Ptolemy in his kingdom.

However, the tribune Canidius brought in a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey should be sent without an army, and only with two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless papers were found scattered in the *forum* and before the senate-house, importing that Ptolemy himself desired that Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, that Ptolemy left Egypt without any necessity, at the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions to employ himself and the honour of new commands. But the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for there was no thing so mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When

* This law also gave Pompey proconsular authority for five years, in and out of Italy. Dio, lib. xxxix.

† Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects and forced to fly, applied to his consul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-establish him in his kingdom. Dio, *ubi supra*.

he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor, with these decisive words: "It is necessary to go; it is not necessary to live." His success was unwearable to his spirit and intrepidity. He filled the markets with corn, and covered the sea with his ships; insomuch that the overplus afforded a supply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the mean time the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a great distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome; and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object. He exercised his army, indeed, in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diversions of the field; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently, when he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who hastened to pay their respects to him, there were two hundred senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number; and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors, with *fasces* were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed, that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had, for five years more.

As soon as this treaty got air, the principal persons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, planted himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether they intended to stand for the "consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said, * "Perhaps he might, perhaps he might not." Crassus answered, with more moderation, "He should do what "might appear most expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said, "Where "is the honour of that man, who has neither gratitude nor "respect for him who made him an orator, who rescued "him from want, and raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up. "For the dispute," he told him, "was not for "the consulship, but in defence of liberty against tyranny." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side. Consequently they were afraid, that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They resolved, therefore, not to suffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and sent a party of men well armed, who killed Melius, the torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were not conducted with more moderation. For, in the first place, when the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds†. Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their agreement

* Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character—"It "is not on account of the virtuous and the good that I desire any share in "the magistracy, but that I may be able to restrain the ill-disposed and "the seditious."

† This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, was very right in attempting to put a stop to that means of dismissing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations in the heavens while the people were assembled.

agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes, on proposing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, at his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of * elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle. These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her, or her's for him, that kept him so much with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of than the fondness of that young woman for her husband, though at that age his person could hardly be any great object of desire. But the charm of his fidelity was the same, together with his conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtezan Flora to be a sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared on occasion of an election of Ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, such was her terror and the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pompey's connection with Cæsar, could not find fault with his

* Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compassion, saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.

love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in child-bed; nor did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corps, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a greater share, than any respect for Pompey, who was on the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance which rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet,

> ——High spirit of emprise
> Rates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs
> And dip their hands in dust.——

So little able is Fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind; when such a * weight of power, and extent of command, could not satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and † read that the gods had divided the universe into three shares, and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for two of them.

* *Weight* is not the literal signification of *βαθος*, but as near as we could bring it; for, depth of power would not sound well in English. Τοσαυτην *βαθος ηγεμονιας* is an expression similar to that of St. Paul, Rom. xi. 33. Ω *ΒΑΘΟΣ πλουτου και σοφιας και γνωσεως Θεου.*

† Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the Iliad, where Neptune says to Iris,

> "Allign'd by lot, our triple rule we know;
> "Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
> "O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
> "Ethereal Jove extend his high domain:
> "My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
> "And hush the roarings of the sacred deep." POPE.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people at that time, told them, "He had received every commission they had "honoured him with, sooner than he expected himself, "and laid it down sooner than was expected by the "world. And, indeed, the dismission of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now being persuaded that Cæsar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home; and this without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to distrust him; on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great offices of state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced, and his adversaries preferred for money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. In consequence of the reigning disorders a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dictator. Cato opposed it so effectually, that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were elected consuls *.

The same anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion that it was better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to intrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate, that he should be appointed sole consul. "For, by that means," said he, "the "commonwealth will either recover from her disorder,

* In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans, that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of factions; and those who received it, employed force and violence in favour of the persons who paid them: so that scarce any office was disposed of, but what had been disputed with the sword, and had cost the lives of many citizens.

"or, if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest "merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion: and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should "never have been the first to oppose such an expe- "dient; but as it was proposed by another, he thought "it advisable to embrace it; for he thought any kind of "government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter "to rule than Pompey, in a time of so much trouble." The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was passed that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that, if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the [illegible] Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to his support, and desired his assistance and advice in the cabinet, as to the measures he pursued in his administration. Cato made answer, "That Pompey was not under the least obligation to him; "for what he had said, was not out of regard to him, "but to his country. If you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall in- "form you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the same on all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio *. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married, when very young, to Publius, the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms besides her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had made considerable improvement by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation which such studies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were displeased with this match, on account of the disproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son than to him. Those that were capable of deeper reflection thought the concern

* The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

concerns of the commonwealth neglected, which in a distressful case had chosen him for its physician, and confided in him alone. It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity, since it would never have been given him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a prosperous situation.

His first step was to bring those to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and restored security, order and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser seeing Scipio conducted out of the forum to his house, by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more when, after having made a law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embellish his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped his ears; declaring, "It was not right for him to hear such embellishments, contrary to law." Cato, therefore, was objected to and set aside before sentence was passed. Plancus, however, was * condemned by the other judges, to the great confusion of Pompey.

A few days after, Hypsæus a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey's going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner. But Pompey passed with disdain, and all the answer he gave him, was, "That his importunities served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach. But all the rest of his conduct merited praise, and he had the happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his colleague

* Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the success of his eloquence; as appears from his epistle to Marius, l. v. ep. 2.

the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent, that some consideration should be had of him too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy, undisturbed, the honours he had won, and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours, or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to screen against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said, he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship. Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted, That "Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private "man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose the legions were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town, or village, which did not solemnize the occasion with festivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and

* There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had added a clause which empowered the people to except a man by name from personal attendance.

as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp, afforded a glorious spectacle; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his atchievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave into the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch, that he declared "he had no need of "arms or any extraordinary preparations against him, "since he could pull him down with much more ease than "he had set him up."

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not his own "strength and the influence of his name, if he sought any "other defence against Cæsar, upon whom his own forces "would turn, as soon as they saw the former; such was "their hatred of the one, and their affection for the "other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain: "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will "appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was, now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his officers to vote in the elections, but, by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the Consul was of the number, and he had * fifteen hundred talents for changing sides. So were also Curio, one of the Tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curio, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

* 310,625l. Sterling. With this money he built the stately *Basilica* that afterwards bore his name.

It is ſaid, that when one of Cæſar's officers, who ſtood before the ſenate houſe, waiting the iſſue of the debates, was informed, that they would not give Cæſar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, "But this ſhall give it."

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way: Though Curio's demands in behalf of Cæſar ſeemed more plauſible. He propoſed, that either Pompey ſhould likewiſe be obliged to diſmiſs his forces, or Cæſar ſuffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced "to a private ſtation," ſaid he, "they will agree upon rea-"ſonable terms; or, if each retains his reſpective power, "they will be ſatisfied. But he who weakens the one, "without doing the ſame by the other, muſt double that "force which he fears will ſubvert the government *."

Hereupon, Marcellus the Conſul called Cæſar a public robber, and inſiſted that he ſhould be declared an enemy to the ſtate, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piſo, prevailed that a farther inquiry ſhould be made into the ſenſe of the ſenate. He firſt propoſed, that ſuch as were of opinion, "That "Cæſar ſhould diſband his army, and Pompey keep his," ſhould draw to one ſide of the houſe, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he propoſed, that the number of thoſe ſhould be taken, whoſe ſenſe it was, "That both ſhould lay down their arms, and neither re-"main in command;" upon which queſtion, Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the reſt †. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in tranſports of joy to the aſſembly of the people, who received him with the loudeſt plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not preſent at the debate in the houſe; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city. But Marcellus roſe up, and ſaid, "I will no longer ſit to hear the "matter canvaſſed; but as I ſee ten legions have already "paſſed the Alps, I will ſend a man to oppoſe them in "behalf of my country."

Upon

* Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonſtrated, that, in the preſent caſe, a great difference was to be made between the proconſul of Spain and the proconſul of Gaul, ſince the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

† Dio, on the contrary, affirms, that, upon this queſtion, the ſenate were almoſt unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæſar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius and Curio.

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the *forum*, followed by the senate; and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said, "Pompey, I charge you to "assist your country; for which purpose you shall make "use of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you "please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the next year, said the same. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, some absolutely refused to enlist; others gave in their names in small numbers, and with no spirit; and the greatest part cried out, "A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæsar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He proposed, that both Pompey and he should resign their governments, and dismiss their forces, and then come and give account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not assemble the senate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed, that Cæsar should give up Gaul, and disband the greatest part of his army, and, keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to agree, that he should keep only one of those two legions. But Lentulus was against it, and Cato cried out, "That "Pompey was committing a second error, in suffering himself to be so imposed upon;" the reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the same time news was brought, that Cæsar had seized Ariminum, a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horse and five thousand foot; the rest of his forces were on the other side the Alps, and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing with himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulph of

immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes against the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language, "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus * asked him, what forces he had ready for the war; and as he hesitated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no great assurance, "That he had "the two legions lately sent him back by Cæsar, and that "out of the new levies he believed he should shortly be "able to make up a body of thirty thousand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave it as his opinion, that ambassadors should immediately be dispatched to Cæsar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwise of no ill character, but who, by an insolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "Stamp upon the ground, and call forth the ar-"mies he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with great mildness; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him, as to Cæsar, from the first, he said, "Cato, "indeed, had spoken more like a prophet, and he had act-"ed more like a friend." Cato then advised, that Pompey should not only be appointed a general, but invested with a discretionary power; adding, that "those who were "the authors of great evils, knew best how to cure them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almost all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. Those who lived out of Rome, fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it abandoned it as fast. These saw, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs, the well disposed part of the city wanted strength, and that the ill disposed were so refractory that they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the pas-sion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch

* Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey, at last, caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected*. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects; and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbad him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it than to say it." Metellus being thus frightened out of it, he took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundusium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrachium. At the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundusians

* The Latin word *tumultus*, which Plutarch has rendered ταραχη, is a very comprehensive one. The Romans did not care to call the commotions which happened among them, or near them, before direct hostilities were commenced, by the name of war; they distinguished them by the name of *tumultus*.

dusians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the streets, except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrachium.

* When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence, he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and, in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the trenches, had not the Brundusians informed him of them. He then † avoided the streets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar, however, could not help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner. Cicero ‡, too, blamed him, for imitating the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other hand, the steps which Cæsar took showed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length: For having taken § Numerius, a friend of Pompey's, he had sent him to Brundusium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reasonable terms. But Numerius, instead of returning with an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been glad

* Cæsar besieged the place nine days, during which he not only invested it on the land-side, but undertook to shut up the port by a *staccado* of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his escape.

† Φυλαττομενος την πολιν, και κυκλω πεμων, perhaps means, "That he avoided the principal streets, and came by many windings and "turnings to the haven."

‡ Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

§ Cæsar calls him *Cn. Magius*. He was master of Pompey's board of works.

glad to have gone immediately in purſuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of ſhipping, he gave up that deſign for the preſent, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the mean time Pompey aſſembled a great army; and at ſea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ſhips of war, and the number of his lighter veſſels was ſtill greater. As for his land-forces, he had ſeven thouſand horſe, the flower of * Rome and Italy, all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undiſciplined ſoldiers: He therefore exerciſed them during his ſtay at Beroea, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exerciſes of a ſoldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inſpired his troops with new courage, when they ſaw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military diſcipline, in heavy armour, on foot; and then mounting his horſe, drawing his ſword with eaſe when at full ſpeed, and as dexterouſly ſheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactneſs, but with ſuch force, that few of the young men could dart it to a greater diſtance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was ſo great, that it was ſufficient to make up a complete ſenate. Labienus †, who had been honoured with Cæſar's friendſhip, and ſerved under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the ſon of that Brutus who was

killed

* Cæſar, on the contrary, ſays, that this body of horſe was almoſt entirely compoſed of ſtrangers. "There were ſix hundred Galatians, five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Macedonians, five hundred Gauls, or Germans, eight hundred raiſed out of his own eſtates, or out of his own retinue;" and ſo of the reſt, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

† It ſeemed very ſtrange, ſays Dio, that Labienus ſhould abandon Cæſar, who had loaded him with honours, and given him the command of all the forces on the other ſide of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reaſon for it: "Labienus, elated with his immenſe wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himſelf to ſuch a degree, as to aſſume a character very unbecoming a perſon in his circumſtances. He was even for putting himſelf upon an equality with Cæſar, who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with ſome reſerve, which Labienus reſented, and went over to Pompey."

killed by him not very fairly in the Cisalpine Gaul*; a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himself under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired, among the rest, to his standard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him, than he rose up, and ran to meet him; considering it as a great proof of the justice of his cause, that, in spite of age and weakness, persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "That no Roman "should be killed, except in battle, nor any city that was "subject to the Romans be plundered," Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived at too great a distance, or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and, with words at least, contended for it; looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæsar made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundusium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he dispatched Vibullius †,

one,

* The former English translator renders this *Gallo*. He ought to have remembered that this Brutus was killed by Geminius in a village near the Po, by Pompey's order, after he had accepted his submission, if not promised him his life. The authors of the Universal History have corrected the error.

† In the printed text it is *Jubius*; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he has in Cæsar's Comm. lib. iii. Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himself any rest, till he had reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice

of

one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they should agree to disband their "armies within three days, renew their friendship, con-"firm it with solemn oaths, and then both return to "Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land-forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so that there was not a wind that blew which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under a necessity of seeking a battle. Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's entrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes, he had the advantage; but one day he was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand of them upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion, "This day the victory had been the ene-"my's, had their general known how to conquer *."

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give into their opinions, by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been

of Cæsar's arrival; but was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar.

* Yet it may be observed, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced, from the conduct of the ablest generals. And we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp, he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been, his suffering himself to be brought to an action at last, by the importunity of his officers and soldiers, against his better judgment.

been ever invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and countermarches, for digging trenches and building forts; and that therefore they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania to Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey's soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar is fled." Some called upon the General to pursue: Some, to pass over to Italy. Others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the *forum*, for the convenience of soliciting the great offices of state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they "ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the "great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, "Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls, would soon submit "to those who were masters there. What should affect "Pompey still more was, that his native country just by "stretched out her hands to him as a suppliant; and it "could not be consistent with his honour to let her remain "under such indignities, and in so disgraceful a vassalage "to the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when fortune put it in his power to pursue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law Scipio, and many other persons of consular dignity in Greece and Thessaly, a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome, he should take the best care of her, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from her; that without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were, besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, "That as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could "do nothing better than take off him too." Some say, this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the sea-coast to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum "this year." And Lucius Afranius, who lost the forces in Spain, was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, "He was surprised that his accusers should make "any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called "him), who trafficked for provinces."

These, and many other like sallies of ridicule, had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by all the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects. A thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander in chief of so many nations, and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain,

though necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others, namely Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's high-priesthood, as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabatheans; and not that Cæsar and that army who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienes, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first, and took an oath, "That he would not return from "the battle till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

The night following, Pompey had this dream *. He thought "he entered his own theatre, and was received "with loud plaudits; after which he adorned the temple "of Venus *the victorious* with many spoils." This vision, on one side, encouraged him, and on another, alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expence. Besides, a panic † fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awaked him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it as he was going his rounds. Cæsar

* At non felicis Magno pars ultima vitæ
Solicitos vana decepit imagine somnos.
Nam Pompeiani visus sibi fode theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere Plebis,
Attolique suum lætis ad sidera nomen
Vocibus, et plausa cuneos certare sonantes. Lucan. lib. viii.

† *Panic* fears were so called from the terror which the god *Pan* is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa,* his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants, and beasts of burden, were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence, that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle, which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him, that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this, Cæsar said, "The long wished day is come, "on which we shall fight with men, and not with want "and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which among the Romans, is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts, and every expression of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

† Pompey placed himself in his right wing over against Antony, and his father-in law, Scipio, in the centre, opposite

* The *enemy* in the printed text is evidently a corruption. An anonymous manuscript gives us πρὸς Σκοτοῦσαν. Scotusa was a city of Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch his opportunity, in some of those movements, to fall upon them.

† It is somewhat surprising, that the account which Cæsar himself has given of this memorable battle, should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is. Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (Bell. Civil. lib. iii.) Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæsar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with the seven thousand horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of forty-five thousand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalized itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left

poſite Lucius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and ſupported by the cavalry; for they were almoſt all ranged on that ſide, in order to break in upon Cæſar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the braveſt in his army, and in which he uſed to fight in perſon. Cæſar ſeeing the enemy's left wing ſo well guarded with horſe, and fearing the excellence of their armour, ſent for a detachment of ſix cohorts from the body of reſerve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to ſtir before the attack, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremoſt ranks, and then not to diſcharge their javelins at a diſtance, as brave men generally do in their eagerneſs to come to ſword in hand, but to reſerve them till they came to cloſe fighting, and puſh them upwards into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For thoſe fair young dancers," ſaid he, "will "never ſtand the ſteel aimed at their eyes, but will fly "to ſave their handſome faces."

While Cæſar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horſeback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmoſt exactneſs, and quietly waited for the ſignal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unſteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the firſt onſet. He therefore commanded the vanguard to ſtand * firm in their ranks, and in that cloſe order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæſar condemned this meaſure, as not only tending to leſſen the vigour of the blows, which is always greateſt in the aſſailants, but alſo to damp the fire and ſpirit of the men; whereas thoſe who advance with impetuoſity, and animate each other with ſhouts, are filled with an enthuſiaſtic valour, and ſuperior ardour.

Cæſar's army conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand men, and Pompey's was ſomething more than twice that number. When the ſignal was given on both ſides, and the trumpets ſounded a charge, each common man attended only to his

left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvus the main body. As for Cæſar, he poſted himſelf on the right over againſt Pompey, that he might have him always in ſight.

* Vide Cæſ. ubi ſupra.

This, however, muſt be ſaid in excuſe for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have ſometimes done as he did.

his own concern. But some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the same standards; in short, the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greatest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the presence of civilizing barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted seventy thousand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted? Into such a variety of wild and savage countries had those two generals carried their victorious arms. Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a self-interested compact, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side who advanced to the charge, was Caius * Crastinus, who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promise to his general. He was the first man Cæsar saw when he went out of the trenches in the morning; and upon Cæsar's asking him what he thought of the battle, he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious victory,

* So Cæsar calls him. His name in Plutarch is *Crassianus*, in Appian *Crassinus*.

"victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either "alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many following to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately bring on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front, back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal: Upon which, his cavalry retreated a little *; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed † them at the face. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing, which, now stript of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they, who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that, saw

* Αἱ δὲ ἐπιτεταγμέναι σπεῖραι πρὸς τὴν κυκλωσιν ἐπιδραμοῦσαι, τρισχίλιοι ἄνδρες, ὑπαντιάζουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

Amiot and Dacier translate this passage as we have done; though, with a comma after κυκλωσιν; it may possibly bear the sense which the Latin and the former English translator have given it; namely, that they were placed there to prevent the tenth legion from being surrounded, but that does not appear to be a natural construction.

† *Milles, feri faciem.*

few themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moon-struck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp. A scene which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer *:

But partial *Jove* espousing *Hector's* part,
Shot heav'n-bred horror through the *Grecian's* heart;
Confus'd, unnerv'd in *Hector's* presence grown,
Amaz'd he stood with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his mooney shield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew. POPE.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sate down, and uttered not a word, till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What! into my camp, too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew †. All the other legions fled; and a great slaughter was made in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side,

* In the eleventh book of the Iliad, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

† Cæsar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions, (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Universal History erroneously say), and after six miles march came up with them. But they not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day; yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. Vide Cæs. Bell. l. v. iii. 80.

side, assures us, that of the regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed *.

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed, in strong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds were strewed with flowers; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got at a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him; and, as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapt up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burthen just ready to sail; the master of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened, that this man, the night before, dreamt he saw Pompey come and talk to him, and in

* Cæsar says, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons who have a great deal of time upon their hands love to discourse about such matters; when, on a sudden, one of the mariners told him, he saw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making signs, by shaking their garments, and stretching out their hands. Upon this, Petitus stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard: for by his dress he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any farther application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him were the two Lentuli and Favonius: and a little after, they saw King Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them the best supper he could; and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want of a servant, was going to wash himself; but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet, and providing his supper; insomuch, that one who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

> —— The generous mind adds dignity
> To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey, in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town with news far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by the flattering accounts which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute was decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to be attended to. The messenger, finding her possessed with such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the greatest of Pompey's misfortunes by his

tears rather than words, only told her, "She must make "haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with one ship "only, and that not his own."

At this news Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him: "I see, my dear husband, your present unhappy condition "is the effect of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas! "how are you reduced to one poor vessel, who, before "your marriage with Cornelia, traversed this sea with five "hundred gallies? Why did you come to see me, and "not rather leave me to my evil destiny, who have loaded "you too with such a weight of calamities: How happy "had it been for me to have died before I heard that "Publius, my first husband, was killed by the Parthians? "How wise had I followed him to the grave, as I once "intended? What have I lived for since, but to bring "misfortunes upon Pompey the Great *?"

Such, we are assured, was the speech of Cornelia; and Pompey answered, "'Till this moment, Cornelia, you "have experienced nothing but the smiles of fortune; and "it was she who deceived you, because she stayed with me "longer than she commonly does with her favourites. "But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and "make another trial of her. For it is no more improbable, "that we may emerge from this poor condition, and rise "to great things again, than it was, that we should fall "from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable moveables and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city.

* Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortune of Pompey to her alliance with him; and it seems, from one part of her speech on this occasion, that she should have been given to Cæsar.

O utinam Thalamos invisi Cæsaris issem.

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest: for Cornelia was the relict of Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus.

city. But he refuſed to go, and bade them ſurrender themſelves to the conqueror without fear: "For Cæſar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned to Cratippus the philoſopher, who was come from the town to ſee him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and expreſs ſome doubts concerning it. Cratippus made ſome conceſſions, and, turning the diſcourſe, encouraged him to hope better things; that he might not give him pain, by an unſeaſonable oppoſition to his arguments; elſe he might have anſwered his objections againſt Providence, by ſhowing, that the ſtate, and indeed the conſtitution, was in ſuch diſorder, that it was neceſſary it ſhould be changed into a monarchy. Or this one queſtion would have ſilenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that, if you had con-"quered, you would have made a better uſe of your good "fortune than Cæſar?" But we muſt leave the determinations of heaven to its ſuperior wiſdom.

As ſoon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he ſet ſail, and continued his courſe, without touching at any port, except for water and proviſions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by ſome Cilician gallies; and, beſide picking up a number of ſoldiers, he found in a little time ſixty ſenators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was ſtill entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a conſiderable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in ſuffering himſelf to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no uſe of thoſe forces, in which he was confeſſedly ſtronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in caſe of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been ſupplied from ſea with another army, capable of making head againſt the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater miſtake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable inſtance of Cæſar's generalſhip, than in removing the ſcene of action to ſuch a diſtance from the naval forces.

However, as it was neceſſary to undertake ſomething with the ſmall means he had left, he ſent to ſome cities, and ſailed to others himſelf, to raiſe money, and to get a ſupply of men for his ſhips. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be before-hand with him, and ſeize all that he was preparing. He therefore began to think of retiring to

ſome aſylum, and propoſed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a ſafe retreat; and when they caſt their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia as the moſt likely to receive and protect them in their preſent weak condition, and afterwards to ſend them back with a force ſufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Leſbos obſerved, it was madneſs to leave Egypt, which was diſtant but three days ſail. Beſides, Ptolemy *, who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account: And ſhould he go then, and put himſelf in the hands of the Parthians, the moſt perfidious people in the world? He repreſented what a wrong meaſure it would be, if, rather than truſt to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the ſecond place of eminence, he would venture his perſon with Arſaces †, by whom even Craſſus would not be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely abſurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought power conſiſted in the diſplay of inſolence and outrage; and where, if ſhe eſcaped unviolated, it would be believed ſhe did not, after ſhe had been with thoſe who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is ſaid, this laſt conſideration only prevented his marching to the Euphrates; but it is ſome doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate, than his opinion, which directed his ſteps another way.

When it was determined that they ſhould ſeek for refuge in Egypt, he ſet ſail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The reſt accompanied him, ſome in ſhips of war, and ſome in merchantmen: And they made a ſafe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Peluſium, where he was engaged in war with his ſiſter, he proceeded thither, and ſent a meſſenger before him to notify his arrival, and to entreat the King's protection.

* This was Ptolemy Dionyſius, the ſon of Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharſalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

† From this paſſage it appears, that Arſaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Craſſus.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ableſt officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleaſed to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, conſider that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an Eunuch, by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the Prince rhetoric, and by Achillas an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, theſe had the greateſt influence over him, and were the perſons he moſt conſulted. Pompey lay at anchor at ſome diſtance from the place, waiting the determination of this reſpectable board; while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæſar for his ſafety. The council were divided in their opinions; ſome adviſing the prince to give him an honourable reception, and others to ſend him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to diſplay his eloquence, inſiſted that both were wrong. "If you receive "him," ſaid he, "you will have Cæſar for your enemy, and "Pompey for your maſter. If you order him off, Pompey "may one day revenge the affront, and Cæſar reſent your "not having put him in his hands: The beſt method, "therefore, is to ſend for him and put him to death. By "this means you will do Cæſar a favour, and have no"thing to fear from Pompey." He added, with a ſmile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achillas. In conſequence of which he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had alſo acted under him as a centurion, with three or four aſſiſtants, and made up to Pompey's ſhip, where his principal friends and officers had aſſembled, to ſee how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor ſuitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fiſhing-boat, came to wait upon them, ſuch want of reſpect appeared a ſuſpicious circumſtance; and they adviſed Pompey, while he was out of the reach of miſſive weapons, to get out to the main ſea.

Meantime the boat approaching, Septimius ſpoke firſt, addreſſing Pompey, in Latin, by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achillas ſaluted him in Greek, and deſired him to come into the boat, becauſe the water was very ſhallow towards

the shore and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He, therefore, embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened; and ordered too centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves, named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achillas had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!
Tho' free as air before——————

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and said, "Methinks, I remember "you to have been my fellow soldier;" but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek, that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the kings great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise himself with more ease, Septimius came behind, and run him through the body; after which Salvius and Achillas also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face; and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate; only uttering a groan, while they dispatched him with many blows. He was then just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day.

Cornelia,

* Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple at Jerusalem, intimate, that his

Cornelia and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale, as they got out more to sea; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them.

The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapt it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral pile; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat; which, though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey "the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, "let me have a share in it; that I may not absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country; but, to compensate many misfortunes, may have "the consolation of * doing some of the last honours to "the greatest general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian shore, and, as he was coasting along, saw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, standing by it. Upon which, he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to "leave his remains upon this shore?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah! Pompey the Great! perhaps "thou mayest be the man." Lentulus soon after went on shore, and was taken and slain.

his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment upon the providential determinations of the Supreme Being. Indeed he fell a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted, for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

* Of touching and wrapping up the body.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch, in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba*.

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY COMPARED.

SUCH is the account we had to give of the lives of these two great men; and in drawing up the parallel, we shall previously take a short survey of the difference in their characters.

In the first place Pompey rose to power, and established his reputation, by just and laudable means; partly by the

* Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all consideration of his character, had less justice done him by historians, than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence, (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up) his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were, both naturally and morally great; his cause, which was certainly in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers, who rose after the established monarchy, have given of his opposition, perfectly reconcileable to the prejudice which appears against him; or rather to the reluctance which they have shown to that praise which they seemed to have felt that he deserved: When the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of its interests had fallen with it, then history itself, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Plutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

the ſtrength of his own genius, and partly by his ſervices to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of deſpotiſm. Whereas Ageſilaus came to the throne, by methods equally immoral and irreligious; for it was by accuſing Leotychidas of baſtardy, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate ſon, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king *.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due reſpect to Sylla during his life, and took care to ſee his remains honourably interred, notwithſtanding the oppoſition it met with from Lepidus; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla. On the other hand, Ageſilaus ſhook off Lyſander upon a ſlight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the ſervices Pompey received from Sylla were not greater than thoſe he had rendered him: whereas Ageſilaus was appointed king of Sparta by Lyſander's means, and afterwards captain general of Greece.

In the third place, Pompey's offences againſt the laws and the conſtitution, were principally owing to his alliances, to his ſupporting either Cæſar or Scipio (whoſe daughter he had married) in their unjuſt demands. Ageſilaus not only gratified the paſſion of his ſon, by ſparing the life of Sphodrias, whoſe death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians: But he likewiſe ſcreened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was viſibly for the ſake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In ſhort, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance, or a timorous complaiſance for his friends, Ageſilaus brought as great diſtreſſes upon the Spartans, through a ſpirit of obſtinacy and reſentment; for ſuch was the ſpirit that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, when we are mentioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortune, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedemonians were ſufficiently forwarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Ageſilaus would not ſuffer them to avail themſelves of that warning †. Nay, ſuppoſing Leotychidas a mere

* See the life of Ageſilaus.

† It is true, the latter part of Ageſilaus's reign was unfortunate; but the misfortunes were owing to his malice againſt the Thebans, and to

ſtranger, and as much a baſtard as he was; yet the family of Eurytian could eaſily have ſupplied Sparta with a king who was neither ſpurious nor maimed, had not Lyſander been induſtrious enough to render the oracle obſcure for the ſake of Ageſilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer meaſure than that of Ageſilaus, when, in the diſtreſs of the Spartans how to proceed againſt the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws ſhould be ſilent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can poſſibly be compared to it. On the contrary, he thought himſelf exempted from obſerving the laws he had made, and that his tranſgreſſing them ſhowed his friends his ſuperior power: Whereas Ageſilaus, when under a neceſſity of contravening the laws, to ſave a number of citizens, found out an expedient which ſaved both the laws and the criminals. I muſt alſo reckon among his political virtues, his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the *Scytale*, which ordered him to leave Aſia in the height of his ſucceſs. For he did not, like Pompey, ſerve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatneſs; the good of his country was his great object, and, with a view to that, he renounced ſuch power and ſo much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and conſider their military performances; the trophies which Pompey erected were ſo numerous, the armies he led ſo powerful, and the pitched battles he won ſo extraordinary, that I ſuppoſe Xenophon himſelf would not compare the victories of Ageſilaus with them; though that hiſtorian, on account of his other excellencies, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of ſaying what he pleaſed of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies, in point of equity and moderation. Ageſilaus was bent upon enſlaving Thebes, and deſtroyed Meſſene; the former the city from which his family ſprung, the latter

to his fighting (contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the ſame enemy ſo frequently, that he taught them to beat him at laſt.

Nevertheleſs, the oracle, as we have obſerved in a former note, probably meant the lameneſs of the kingdom, in having but one king inſtead of two, and not the lameneſs of the king.

latter Sparta's fifter colony *; and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itſelf. On the other hand, Pompey after he had conquered the pirates, beſtowed cities on ſuch as were willing to change their way of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather choſe to make him an ally; on which occaſion, he made uſe of that memorable expreſſion, "I prefer the glory that will laſt for ever to "that of a day."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue is to be decided by ſuch actions and counſels as are moſt characteriſtical of the great and wiſe commander, we ſhall find that the Lacedemonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the firſt place, he never abandoned his city, though it was beſieged by ſeventy thouſand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppoſe them with, and thoſe lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey †, upon Cæſar's advancing with five thouſand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to ſo trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left thoſe of the other citizens in a defenceleſs ſtate; when he ought either to have ſtayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted ſuch conditions as the conqueror might impoſe, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before, he thought it inſupportable to prolong the term of his commiſſion, and to grant him another conſulſhip; and now he ſuffered him to take poſſeſſion of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he conſidered him, "and all the other inhabitants, as his priſoners."

If it is the principal buſineſs of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is ſtronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is weaker,

* For Hercules was born at Thebes; and Meſſene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta. The Latin and French tranſlations have miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage.

† Here is another egregious inſtance of Plutarch's prejudice againſt the character of Pompey. It is certain that he left not Rome, till he was well convinced of the impoſſibility of maintaining it againſt the arms of Cæſar. For he was not only coming againſt it with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned; but he had rendered even a ſiege unneceſſary, by a previous diſtribution of his gold amongſt the citizens.

Ageſilaus underſtood that rule perfectly well, and, by obſerving it, continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæſar at a diſadvantage; on the contrary, he ſuffered Cæſar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at hand. The conſequence of which was, that Cæſar became maſter of his treaſures, his proviſions, and the ſea itſelf, when he might have preſerved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this caſe, it reflects the greateſt diſhonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been ſo much diſpirited and diſturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whoſe camp the Romans called their country, and whoſe tent their ſenate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to thoſe who ſtaid and acted as prætors and conſuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to ſerve as a private ſoldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greateſt reputation as general; for ſuch a one to be forced, by the ſcoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to riſk the fate of the whole empire, and of liberty, upon the caſt of a ſingle die—who can bear it?—If he dreaded only preſent infamy, he ought to have made a ſtand at firſt, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themiſtocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Theſſaly as a diſhonour. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharſalia as the liſts in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he ſummoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwiſe forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities; nay, his command of the ſea left the whole earth to his choice; had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Ageſilaus himſelf.

Ageſilaus certainly had no leſs tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions: Nor were the calumnies and ſlanders he met with in Egypt, from the madneſs of the king, leſs grating, when he adviſed that prince to lie ſtill for a time. Yet by purſuing the ſage meaſures he had firſt fixed upon,

upon, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but kept Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her: Nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans; for by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were so obstinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterwards. Hence it was that Agesilaus was praised by the persons whom he had saved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who drew him into it. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own use the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action, under pretence that the supplies would soon fail. But supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor, in consequence of being so deceived, have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient cause, listed himself in the service of a barbarous prince, to raise a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks. So that if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by those in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

ALEXANDER.

IN this volume we shall give the lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæsar who overthrew Pompey; and as the quantity of materials is so great, we shall only premise, that we hope for indulgence, though we do not give the actions in full detail, and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Nor is it always in the most distinguished atchievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character,

character, more than the greateſt ſieges or the moſt important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeneſs in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind moſt appears, and run over the reſt with a more careleſs hand; ſo we muſt be permitted to ſtrike off the features of the ſoul, in order to give a real likeneſs of theſe great men, and leave to others the circumſtantial detail of their labours and atchievements.

It is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a deſcendant of Hercules by * Caranus, and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is ſaid to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the myſteries at Samothrace; and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, becauſe ſhe was left an orphan. The night before the conſummation of the marriage, ſhe dreamed, that a thunder-bolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itſelf far and wide before it diſappeared. And ſome time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he ſealed up the queen's womb with a ſeal, whoſe impreſſion he thought was a lion. Moſt of the interpreters believed the dream announced ſome reaſon to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more cloſely to her conduct. But Ariſtander of Telmeſus ſaid, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant; for a ſeal is never put upon any thing that is empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A ſerpent was alſo ſeen lying by Olympias as ſhe ſlept; which is ſaid to have cooled Philip's affections for her more than any thing, inſomuch, that he ſeldom repaired to her bed afterwards; whether it was that he feared ſome enchantment from her, or abſtained from her embraces, becauſe he thought them taken up by ſome ſuperior being.

Some,

* Caranus, the ſixteenth in deſcent from Hercules, made himſelf maſter of Macedonia in the year before Chriſt 794; and Alexander the Great was the twenty-ſecond in deſcent from Caranus; ſo that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The deſcent by his mother's ſide is not ſo clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is ſufficient to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and ſiſter to Arymbas.

Some, indeed, relate the affair in another manner. They tell us, that the women of this country were of old extremely fond of the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus; and that they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*, because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus; from whom the Greek word *threſcuein* ſeems to be derived, which ſignifies the exerciſe of extravagant and ſuperſtitious obſervances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious of theſe inſpirations, and deſirous of giving the enthuſiaſtic ſolemnities a more ſtrange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame ſerpents, which often creeping out of the ivy and the myſtic fans, and entwining about the *Thyrſuſes* and garlands of the women, ſtruck the ſpectators with terror.

Philip, however, upon this * appearance, ſent Chiron of Megalopolis to conſult the oracle at Delphi; and we are told, Apollo commanded him to ſacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. It is alſo ſaid, he loſt one of his eyes, which was that he applied to the chink of the door, when he ſaw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a ſerpent. According to Eratoſthenes, Olympias, when ſhe conducted Alexander on his way in his firſt expedition, privately diſcovered to him the ſecret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity ſuitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that ſhe abſolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and uſed to ſay, "Will Alexander never leave embroiling "me with Juno?

† Alexander was born on the ſixth of ‡ Hecatombœon [July], which the Macedonians call *Lous*, the ſame day that the temple of Diana at Epheſus was burnt; upon which

* We do not think the word *φαντασμα* relates to the dream, but to the appearing of the ſerpent.

† In the firſt year of the hundred and ſixth Olympiad, before Chriſt 354.

‡ Ælian (Var. Hiſt. l. ii, c. 25.) ſays expreſsly, that Alexander was born and died on the ſixth day of the month Thargelion. But ſuppoſing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month Hecatombœon, yet not that month, but Bœdromion then anſwered to the Macedonian month Lous; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, ſtill preſerved in the Orations of Demoſthenes (In Orat. de Corona). In after times, indeed, the month Lous anſwered to Hecatombœon, which, without doubt, was the cauſe of Plutarch's miſtake.

which Hegeſias, the Magneſian, has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguiſhed the flames. "It is no "wonder," ſays he, "that the temple of Diana was burnt, "when ſhe was at a diſtance employed in bringing Alex-"ander into the world." All the *Magi* who were then at Epheſus, looked upon the fire as a ſign which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, "That day had brought "forth the great ſcourge and deſtroyer of Aſia."

Philip had juſt taken the city of * Potidæa, and three meſſengers arrived the ſame day with extraordinary tidings. The firſt informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle againſt the Illyrians; the ſecond, that his race-horſe had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occaſion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the ſoothſayers increaſed it, by aſſuring him, that his ſon, who was born in the midſt of three victories, muſt of courſe prove invincible.

The ſtatues of Alexander that moſt reſembled him, were thoſe of Lyſippus, who alone had his permiſſion to repreſent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one ſide, and the quickneſs of his eye, in which many of his friends and ſucceſſors moſt affected to imitate him, were beſt hit off by that artiſt. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not ſucceed as to his complexion. He overcharged the colouring, and made his ſkin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breaſt. We read in the memoirs of Ariſtoxenus, that a moſt agreeable ſcent proceeded from his ſkin, and that his breath and whole body were ſo fragrant, that they perfumed his under-garments. The cauſe of this might poſſibly be his hot temperament. For, as Theophraſtus conjectures, it is the concoction of moiſture by heat which produces ſweet odours; and hence it is that thoſe countries which are drieſt, and moſt parched with heat, produce ſpices of the beſt kind, and in the greateſt quantity;

* This is another miſtake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and third Olympiad, for which we have again the authority of Demoſthenes, who was Philip's contemporary (in Orat. cont. Leptinem), as well as of Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi.

quantity; the sun exhaling from the surface of bodies that moisture which is the instrument of corruption. It seems to have been the same heat of constitution which made Alexander so much inclined to drink, and so subject to passion.

His continence showed itself at an early period. For, though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body; and if he tasted them, it was with great moderation. But there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all sorts of honour that he courted, nor did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any sophist could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him, "Whether he would not run in the Olympic race," (for he was swift of foot) answered, "Yes, if I had "kings for my antagonists." It appears that he had a perfect aversion to the whole exercise of wrestling *. For, though he exhibited many other sorts of games and public diversions, in which he proposed prizes for tragic poets, for musicians who practised upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapsodists too; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beasts, and with fencing or fighting with the staff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing, or to the *pancratium* †.

Ambassadors from Persia happened to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, gained upon them greatly by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia; he desired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness

* Philoxemon, like him, had an aversion for wrestling, because all the exercises which fit a man to excel in it, make him unfit for war.

† If it be asked how this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling, the answer is, the *Pancratium* was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

neſs of Philip as nothing in compariſon of the lofty and enterpriſing genius of his ſon. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken ſome ſtrong town, or won ſome great battle, the young man, inſtead of appearing delighted with it, uſed to ſay to his companions, "My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing "extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleaſure nor riches, but valour and glory were his great objects, he thought, that in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be leſs room for him to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Every new acquiſition of territory he conſidered as a diminution of his ſcene of action: for he did not deſire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleaſure, but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exerciſe of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas, a relation of the queen's, and a man of great ſeverity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though this employment was important and honourable; and, indeed, his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and buſineſs of preceptor, was Lyſimachus, the Acarnanian; a man who had neither merit nor politeneſs, nor any thing to recommend him, but his calling himſelf Phœnix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. This procured him ſome attention, and the ſecond place about the prince's perſon.

When Philonicus, the Theſſalian, offered the horſe named Bucephalus, in ſale to Philip, at the price of thirteen † talents, the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to ſee ſome trial made of him. The horſe appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be mounted, that he would not bear to be ſpoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was diſpleaſed at their bringing him ſo wild

* That is, 2518 l. 15 s. Sterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro, (de Re Ruſtic, l. iii. c. 2.) viz. that Q. Axius, a ſenator, gave four hundred thouſand ſeſterces for an aſs; and ſtill more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that ſome horſes in Arabia were valued at a hundred thouſand crowns.

† Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, ſays, the price of Bucephalus was ſixteen talents. *Sedecem talentis ferunt ex Philonici Pharſalii grege emptum.* Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 42.

wild and ungovernable a horſe, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had obſerved him well, ſaid, "What a horſe are they loſing, for want of ſkill and "ſpirit to manage him!" Philip at firſt took no notice of this; but upon the prince's often repeating the ſame expreſſion, and ſhowing great uneaſineſs, he ſaid, "Young "man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew "more than they, or could manage the horſe better." "And I certainly could," anſwered the prince. "If you "ſhould not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you "ſubmit to for your raſhneſs?" "I will pay the price of "the horſe."

Upon this all the company laughed; but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horſe, and laying hold on the bridle, turned him to the ſun; for he had obſerved, it ſeems, that the ſhadow which fell before the horſe, and continually moved as he moved, greatly diſturbed him. While his fierceneſs and fury laſted, he kept ſpeaking to him ſoftly and ſtroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his ſeat very ſafe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or uſing either whip or ſpur, he ſet him a going. As ſoon as he perceived his uneaſineſs abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and puſhed him on both with the voice and the ſpur.

Philip and all his court were in great diſtreſs for him at firſt, and a profound ſilence took place. But when the prince had turned him and brought him ſtreight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and kiſſing him, ſaid, "Seek "another kingdom, my ſon, that may be worthy of thy "abilities; for Macedonia is too ſmall for thee." Perceiving that he did not eaſily ſubmit to authority, becauſe he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reaſon, he took the method of perſuaſion rather than of command. He ſaw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be truſted to the ordinary maſters in muſic and the common circle of ſciences; and that his genius, (to uſe the expreſſion of Sophocles) required

The rudder's guidance and the curb's reſtraint.

He

He therefore sent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers; and the reward he gave him for forming his son was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to slavery *. He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations; where they still show us Aristotle's stone seats and shady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was also instructed in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call *acroamatic* and *epoptic*, and which they did not communicate to every common scholar †. For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books in which those points were discussed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the course he had taken. The following is a copy of it.

"Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did wrong "in publishing the *acroamatic* parts of science ‡. In "what shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge which we gained from you, be made common to "all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk "of mankind in the superior parts of learning, than in "the extent of power and dominion. Farewell."

Aristotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, made answer, that those points were published and not published. In fact, his book of metaphysics is written in such a manner, that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it others: It serves only to refresh the memories of those who have been taught by a master.

It appears also to me, that it was by Aristotle rather than any other person, that Alexander was assisted in the study of physic. For he not only loved the theory, but the

* Pliny the elder, and Valerius Maximus, tell us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Aristotle was very old.

† The scholars in general were instructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines. Vid. AUL. GELL. lib. xx. cap. 5.

‡ Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

the practice too, as is clear from his epiſtles, where we find that he preſcribed to his friends medicines and a proper *regimen*.

He loved polite learning too, and his natural thirſt of knowledge made him a man of extenſive reading. The Iliad he thought, as well as called, a portable treaſure of military knowledge; and he had a copy corrected by Ariſtotle, which is called * *the caſket* copy. Oneſicritus informs us, that he uſed to lay it under his pillow with his ſword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Aſia, he wrote to Harpalus for a ſupply; who ſent him the works of Philiſtus, moſt of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æſchylus, and the Dithyrambics of Teleſtus † and Philoxenus.

Ariſtotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and, as he ſaid himſelf, he had no leſs affection for him than for his own father: "From the one he derived the "bleſſing of life, from the other the bleſſing of a good "life." But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of ſuſpicion. He never, indeed, did the philoſopher any harm; but the teſtimonies of his regard being neither ſo extraordinary nor ſo endearing as before, diſcovered ſomething of a coldneſs. However, his love of philoſophy, which he was either born with, or, at leaſt, conceived at an early period, never quitted his ſoul; as appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he ſent Zenocrates ‡, and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition againſt Byzantium, Alexander was only ſixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia, and keeper of the ſeal. The

* He kept it in a rich caſket found among the ſpoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, reviſed by Ariſtotle, Calliſthenes, and Anaxarchus, was publiſhed after the death of Alexander. "Darius (ſaid Alexander), "uſed to keep his ointments in this caſket; but I, who have no time to "anoint myſelf, will convert it to a nobler uſe."

† Teleſtus was a poet of ſome reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Ariſtratus the Sicyonian tyrant. Protogenes was ſent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's diſpleaſure; but the celerity and excellence of his execution ſaved him. Philoxenus was his ſcholar. Philiſtus was an hiſtorian often cited by Plutarch.

‡ The philoſopher took but a ſmall part of this money, and ſent the reſt back; telling the giver he had more occaſion for it himſelf, becauſe he had more people to maintain.

The † Medari rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea againſt the Greeks, and is ſaid to have been the firſt man that broke the *ſacred band* of Thebans. In our times an old oak was ſhown near the Cephiſus, called *Alexander's oak*, becauſe his tent had been pitched under it; and a piece of ground at no great diſtance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early diſplay of great talents made Philip very fond of his ſon, ſo that it was with pleaſure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander *king*, and him only *general*. But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours cauſed in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his ſon; all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inſpired Alexander with unfavourable ſentiments of his father. The miſunderſtanding broke out into a flame on the following occaſion. Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an unſeaſonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, deſired the Macedonians to entreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, ſaid, "What then, doſt thou take me for a baſtard?" and at the ſame time threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip roſe up and drew his ſword: but fortunately for them both, his paſſion and the wine he had drank, made him ſtumble, and he fell. Alexander taking an inſolent advantage of this circumſtance, ſaid, "Men of Macedon, "ſee there the man who was preparing to paſs from Eu-"rope into Aſia! he is not able to paſs from one table to "another without falling." After this inſult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In

† We know of no ſuch people as the Medari; but a people called Medi there was in Thrace, who, as Livy tells us, (l. xxvi.) uſed to make incroads into Macedonia.

In the mean time, Demaratus, who had engagements of hoſpitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could ſpeak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a viſit. After the firſt civilities, Philip aſked him, "What ſort of agreement ſubſiſted among the "Greeks?" Demaratus anſwered, "There is, doubtleſs, "much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of "Greece, who have filled your own houſe with ſo much "diſcord and diſorder." This reproof brought Philip to himſelf, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event ſoon diſturbed their repoſe. Pexodorus, the Perſian governor in Caria, being deſirous to draw Philip into a league offenſive and defenſive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldeſt daughter in marriage to Aridæus, the ſon of Philip, and ſent Ariſtocritus into Macedonia to treat about it. Alexander's friends and his mother now infuſed notions into him again, though perfectly groundleſs, that, by ſo noble a match, and the ſupport conſequent upon it, Philip deſigned the crown for Aridæus.

Alexander, in the uneaſineſs theſe ſuſpicions gave him, ſent one Theſſalus, a player, into Caria, to deſire the grandee to paſs by Aridæus, who was of ſpurious birth, and deficient in point of underſtanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleaſed with this propoſal. But Philip no ſooner had intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, one of his moſt intimate friends and companions, and, in his preſence, reproached him with his degeneracy and meanneſs of ſpirit, in thinking of being ſon-in-law to a man of Caria, one of the ſlaves of a barbarian king. At the ſame time he wrote to the * Corinthians, inſiſting that they ſhould ſend Theſſalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Nearchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, ſome of the other companions of the prince, he baniſhed. But Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great diſtinction.

Some time after the Carian negotiation, Pauſanias being abuſed by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having

* Theſſalus, upon his return from Aſia, muſt have retired to Corinth; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

having juſtice done him for the outrage, killed Philip who refuſed that juſtice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander did not eſcape uncenſured. It is ſaid that when Pauſanias applied to him, after having been ſo diſhonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander, by way of anſwer, repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea *,

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

It muſt be acknowledged, however, that he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after the perſons concerned in the aſſaſſination, and took care to have them puniſhed; and he expreſſed his indignation at Olympias's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his abſence.

He was only twenty years old when he ſucceeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties, and implacable animoſities. The barbarous nations, even thoſe that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook ſubjection, and they longed for their natural kings. Philip had ſubdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accuſtom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confuſion, rather than produced any firm ſettlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous ſtate. The young king's Macedonian counſellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him adviſed him to give up Greece entirely, or at leaſt to make no attempts upon it with the ſword; and to recal the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing meaſures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to ſecurity, and a thorough eſtabliſhment of his affairs

* This is the 1188th verſe of the Medea of Euripides. To give the context---Creon ſays,

Κλυω δ' απειλειν, ὡς απαγγελλων μοι,
Τον δοντα, και γαμουντα, και γαμηθεντ'
Δρασειν τι—

The perſons meant in the tragedy were Jaſon, Creuſa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, is by Arrian called Eurydice, l. ii. c. 14.

affairs, was to proceed with ſpirit and magnanimity. For he was perſuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the leaſt article, he would be univerſally inſulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a ſtop to the riſing wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmoſt expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the ſame ſentiments, he reſolved to ſhow them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the paſs of Thermopylæ. "Demoſthenes," ſaid he, "called me a "boy, while I was in Illyricum, and among the Triballi, "and a ſtripling when in Theſſaly; but I will ſhow him "before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their ſentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the firſt promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amneſty to all the reſt. But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he ſhould deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited by ſound of trumpet all men to join them who choſe to aſſiſt in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain againſt forces vaſtly ſuperior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their ſtrength. But when the Macedonian garriſon fell down from the Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and moſt of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the reſt of Greece, aſtoniſhed and intimidated by ſo dreadful a puniſhment of the Thebans, would ſubmit in ſilence. Yet he found a more plauſible pretence for his ſeverity; giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in purſuance of complaints made againſt Thebes by the people of Phocis and Platææ. He exempted the prieſts, all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hoſpitality, the poſterity of Pindar, as ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt: The reſt he ſold for ſlaves, to the number of thirty

thouſand. There were above ſix thouſand killed in the battle.

The calamities which that wretched city ſuffered were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demoliſhed the houſe of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour. The ſoldiers carried off the booty; and the captain, after having violated the lady, aſked her, whether ſhe had not ſome gold and ſilver concealed. She ſaid ſhe had; and taking him alone into the garden, ſhowed him a well, into which ſhe told him ſhe had thrown every thing of value, when the city was taken. The officer ſtooped down to examine the well; upon which ſhe puſhed him in, and then diſpatched him with ſtones. The Thracians coming up, ſeized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the fearleſs manner in which ſhe followed that ſavage crew, that ſhe was a woman of quality and ſuperior ſentiments. The king demanded who ſhe was? She anſwered, "I am "the ſiſter of Theagenes, who, in capacity of general, "fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and fell at Chæ"ronea." Alexander, admiring her anſwer, and the bold action ſhe had performed, commanded her to be ſet at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expreſſed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feaſt of the great myſteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received ſuch of the Thebans as eſcaped the general wreck, with all imaginable kindneſs, into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was ſatiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a moſt cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had againſt them, but deſired them to look well to their affairs, becauſe, if any thing happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

It is ſaid, the calamities he brought upon the Thebans, gave him uneaſineſs long after, and on that account he treated many others with leſs rigour. It is certain, he imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' daſtardly refuſal to proceed in the Indian expedition, through which his wars and his glory were left imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus, the

avenger

avenger of Thebes. And there was not a Theban who ſurvived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he requeſted of him. Thus much concerning the Theban war.

A general aſſembly of the Greeks being held at the Iſthmus of Corinth, they came to a reſolution to ſend their quotas with Alexander againſt the Perſians, and he was unanimouſly elected captain-general. Many ſtateſmen and philoſophers came to congratulate him on the occaſion; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leiſure in a part of the ſuburbs called Cranium, he went to ſee him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the ſun; and at the approach of ſo many people, he raiſed himſelf up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addreſſed him in an obliging manner, and aſked him, "If there was any thing he "could ſerve him in?" "Only ſtand a little out of my "ſun-ſhine," ſaid Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was ſtruck with ſuch ſurpriſe at finding himſelf ſo little regarded, and ſaw ſomething ſo great in that careleſſneſs, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philoſopher as a monſter, he ſaid, "If I were not Alexander, I ſhould wiſh "to be Diogenes."

He choſe to conſult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpoſe went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauſpicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his queſtion. At firſt he ſent to the propheteſs, to entreat her to do her office; but finding ſhe refuſed to comply, and alleged the law in her excuſe, he went himſelf, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, ſhe ſaid, "My ſon, thou art invincible." Alexander, hearing this, ſaid, "He wanted no other anſwer, for he "had the very oracle he deſired."

When he was on the point of ſetting out upon his expedition, he had many ſigns from the divine powers. Among the reſt, the ſtatue of Orpheus in * Libethra, which

* This Libethra was in the country of the Odryſæ in Thrace. But beſide this city or mountain in Thrace, there was *the Cave of the Nymphs* of Libethra on Mount Helicon, probably ſo denominated by Orpheus.

was of cypreſs wood, was in a profuſe ſweat for ſeveral days. The generality apprehended this to be an ill preſage! but Ariſtander bade them diſmiſs their fears. "It "ſignified," he ſaid, "that Alexander would perform ac- "tions ſo worthy to be celebrated, that they would coſt "the poets and muſicians much labour and ſweat."

As to the number of his troops, thoſe that put it at the leaſt, ſay, he carried over thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and they who put at the moſt, tell us, his army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. The money provided for their ſubſiſtence and pay, according to Ariſtobulus, was only ſeventy talents; Duris ſays, he had no more than would maintain them one month: But Oneſicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpoſe.

However, though his proviſion was ſo ſmall, he choſe, at his embarkation, to inquire into the circumſtances of his friends; and to one he gave a farm, to another a village; to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a poſt. When in this manner he had diſpoſed of almoſt all the eſtates of the crown, Perdiccas aſked him, "What he "had reſerved for himſelf?" The king anſwered "Hope." "Well," replied Perdiccas, "we who ſhare in your la- "bours, will alſo take part in your hopes." In conſequence of which, he refuſed the eſtate allotted him, and ſome others of the king's friends did the ſame. As for thoſe who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he ſerved them with equal pleaſure; and by theſe means moſt of his Macedonian revenues were diſtributed and gone. Such was the ſpirit and diſpoſition with which he paſſed the Helleſpont.

As ſoon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he ſacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He alſo anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it, with his friends, naked, according to the cuſtom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy, in "having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after "his death an excellent herald to ſet forth his praiſe." As he went about the city to look upon the curioſities, he was aſked, whether he choſe to ſee Paris's lyre? "I ſet but "little value," ſaid he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it "would

"would give me pleasure to see that of Achilles, to which "he sung * the glorious actions of the brave."

In the mean time, Darius's generals had assembled a great army, and taken post upon the banks of the Granicus; so that Alexander was under a necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side; and some thought a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time. For the kings of Macedon used never to march out to war in the month *Daisius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *the second Artemisius*. And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a passage so late in the day, he said, "The Hellespont would blush, if, after "having passed it, he should be afraid of the Granicus." At the same time he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the steep banks which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down or covered him with its waves, his motions seemed rather the effects of madness than sound sense. He held on, however, till, by great and surprising efforts, he gained the opposite banks, which the mud made extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy hand to hand, and with great confusion on his part, because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Persian troops charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and, when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard on Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished, both by his buckler and by his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint, but he escaped unhurt. After this, Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two officers of great distinction,

* This alludes to that passage in the ninth book of the Iliad:

"Amus'd at ease the godlike man they found,
"Pleas'd with the solemn harp's harmonious sound;
"With this he soothes his angry soul, and sings
"Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings." POPE.

attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great addreſs, and received Rhœſaces with ſuch a ſtroke of his ſpear upon his breaſt-plate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his ſword to diſpatch him; but his adverſary ſtill maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one ſide of him, and raiſing himſelf up on his horſe, gave him a blow with his battle-axe, which cut off his creſt, with one ſide of the plume. Nay, the force of it was ſuch, that the helmet could hardly reſiſt it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his ſtroke, when the celebrated * Clitus prevented him, by running him through the body with his ſpear. At the ſame time Alexander brought Rhœſaces to the ground with his ſword.

While the cavalry were fighting with ſo much fury, the Macedonian *phalanx* paſſed the river, and then the infantry likewiſe engaged. The enemy made no great or long reſiſtance, but ſoon turned their backs and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who making a ſtand upon an eminence, deſired Alexander to give his word of honour that they ſhould be ſpared. But that prince, influenced rather by his paſſion than his reaſon, inſtead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was ſo warmly received, that he had his horſe killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this diſpute he had more of his men killed and wounded than in all the reſt of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced ſoldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by deſpair.

The barbarians, we are told, loſt in this battle † twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe; whereas Alexander had no more than ‡ thirty-four men killed,

* In the original it is Κλειτος ὁ μελας, Clitus *the Great*. But in Diodorus, (502 & 503.) we find Κλειτος ὁ μελας, Clitus *the Black*; and Athenæus (539, C.) mentions Κλειτος ὁ λευκος, a Clitus *the Fair*. Plutarch, therefore, probably wrote it ὁ μελας

† Some manuſcripts mention only ten thouſand foot killed, which is the number we have in Diodorus (505.) Arrian (p. 45.) makes the number of horſe killed only a thouſand.

‡ Arrian (47.) ſays, there were about twenty-five of the king's *friends* killed; and of perſons of leſs note, ſixty horſe and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty five *friends* who had ſtatues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia, from whence Q. Metellus removed them long after, and carried them to Rome.

killed, nine of which were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a ſtatue to each of them in braſs, the workmanſhip of Lyſippus. And that the Greeks might have their ſhare in the glory of the day, he ſent them preſents out of the ſpoil: To the Athenians in particular he ſent three hundred bucklers. Upon the reſt of the ſpoils, he put this pompous inſcription, WON BY ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS (EXCEPTING THE LACEDEMONIANS) OFF THE BARBARIANS IN ASIA. The greateſt part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Perſians, he ſent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; inſomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Perſian empire on the maritime ſide, made its ſubmiſſion. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnaſſus and Miletus; theſe he took by ſtorm, and ſubdued all the adjacent country. After this, he remained ſome time in ſuſpenſe as to the courſe he ſhould take. One while he was for going, with great expedition, to riſk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; another while he was for firſt reducing all the maritime provinces, that when he had exerciſed and ſtrengthened himſelf by thoſe intermediate actions and acquiſitions, he might then march againſt that prince.

There is a ſpring in Lycia near the city of the Xanthians, which, they tell us, at that time turned its courſe of its own accord, and, overflowing its banks, threw up a plate of braſs, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, ſignifying, "That the Perſian empire would one "day come to a period, and be deſtroyed by the Greeks." Encouraged by this prophecy, he haſtened to reduce all the coaſt, as far as * Phœnice and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many hiſtorians for pompous deſcription, as if it was by the interpoſition of heaven that the ſea retired before Alexander, which, at other times, ran there with ſo ſtrong a current, that the broken rocks at the foot of the mountain very ſeldom were left bare. Menander, in his pleaſant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies.

* This Phœnice, as Palmerius has obſerved, was a diſtrict of Lycia or Pamphylia.

How, like great Alexander! do I ſeek
A friend? Spontaneous he preſents himſelf.
Have I to march where ſeas indignant roll?
The ſea retires, and there I march.

But Alexander himſelf, in his epiſtles, makes no * miracle of it; he only ſays, "He marched from Phaſelis, by the "way called *Climax*."

He had ſtayed ſome time at Phaſelis; and having found in the market-place a ſtatue of Theodectes, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening, when he had drank freely at ſupper, in maſquerade, and covered the ſtatue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of feſtivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he had formerly had a connection by means of Ariſtotle and philoſophy.

After this he ſubdued ſuch of the Piſidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is ſaid to have been the ſeat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot, faſtened with cords made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the "Fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man "who ſhould untie the knot." Moſt hiſtorians ſay, it was twiſted ſo many private ways, and the ends ſo artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it aſunder with his ſword, and ſo made many ends inſtead of two. But Ariſtobulus affirms, that he eaſily untied it, by taking out the pin which faſtened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itſelf.

His

* There is likewiſe a paſſage in Strabo, which fully proves that there was no miracle in it. "Near the city of Phaſelis," ſays he, "between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a paſſage by the ſea ſide, "through which Alexander marched his army. This paſſage is very "narrow, and lies between the ſhore and the mountain Climax, "which overlooks the Pamphylian ſea. It is dry at low water, ſo "that travellers paſs through it with ſafety; but when the ſea is "high, it is overflowed. It was then the winter ſeaſon, and Alex"ander, who depended much upon his good fortune, was reſolved "to ſet out without ſtaying till the floods were abated; ſo that his "men were forced to march up to the middle in water." STRAB. lib. xiv.

Joſephus refers to this paſſage of Alexander, to gain the more credit among the Greeks and Romans to the paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea.

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there news was brought him of the death of Memnon *, who was the most respectable officer Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers; for his army consisted of no less than six hundred thousand combatants; and greatly encouraged besides by a dream, which the *Magi* had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would please him, than with a regard to probability. He dreamt, "That he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and "that Alexander, in the dress which he, Darius, had "formerly worn, when † one of the king's couriers, "acted as his servant; after which Alexander went into "the temple of Belus, and there suddenly disappeared." By this, heaven seems to have signified, that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who, of a simple courier, became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave the glory behind him.

* Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss whom to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus, an Athenian, who had served with great reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to make the king and his ministers right. "While you, Sir," said he to Darius, "are safe, the empire can never be in great danger. "Let me, therefore, exhort you never to expose your person, but to "make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One "hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third "of them be Mercenaries, to compel him to abandon his enterprise; "and if you will honour me with the command, I will be accountable "for the success of what I advise." Darius was ready to accede to the proposal; but the Persian grandees, through envy, accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. CURT. l. iii.

† In the text Ἀγγαρδὸς. But it appears from Hesychius and Suidas that it should be read Ἀγγάρης. It is the Persian word *istandor*, stator, (from *stade*, stare) with a Greek termination; and we learn from Cicero, that *stator* signifies a courier.

Darius was ſtill more encouraged by Alexander's long ſtay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cauſe of his ſtay was ſickneſs, which ſome attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whoſe water is extremely cold. His phyſicians durſt not give him any medicines, becauſe they thought themſelves not ſo certain of the cure, as of the danger they muſt incur in the application; for they feared the Macedonians, if they did not ſucceed, would ſuſpect them of ſome bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, ſaw how deſperate the king's caſe was, as well as the reſt; but, beſides the confidence he had in his friendſhip, he thought it the higheſt ingratitude, when his maſter was in ſo much danger, not to riſk ſomething with him, in exhauſting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in perſuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready; ſo deſirous was he of a ſpeedy recovery, in order to proſecute the war.

In the mean time, Parmenio ſent him a letter from the camp, adviſing him "To beware of Philip, whom, he "ſaid, Darius had prevailed upon, by preſents of infi- "nite value, and the promiſe of his daughter in mar- "riage, to take him off by poiſon." As ſoon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without ſhowing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, and without the leaſt marks of ſuſpicion, and at the ſame time put the letter in his hands. It was a ſtriking ſituation, and more intereſting than any ſcene in a tragedy; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarraſſed countenance, expreſſed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour; Philip's look ſhowed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, proteſting his fidelity; another while he threw himſelf down by the bed-ſide, entreating his maſter to be of good courage, and truſt to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was ſo ſtrong, and overpowered his ſpirits in ſuch a manner, that at firſt he was ſpeechleſs,

leſs, and diſcovered ſcarce any ſign of ſenſe or life. But afterwards he was * ſoon relieved by this faithful phyſician, and recovered ſo well that he was able to ſhow himſelf to the Macedonians, whoſe diſtreſs did not abate till he came perſonally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the diſpoſition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the ſtraits in queſt of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, ſo much inferior to him in number, upon large and ſpacious plains. Darius anſwered, "He was afraid in that caſe the enemy would "fly without coming to an action, and Alexander eſcape "him." "If this is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no further uneaſineſs; for he will "come to ſeek you, and is already on his march." However, his repreſentations had no effect: Darius ſet out for Cilicia; and Alexander was making for Syria in queſt of him. But happening to miſs each other in the night, they both turned back; Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and haſtening to meet Darius in the ſtraits; while Darius endeavoured to diſengage himſelf, and recover his former camp. For by this time he was ſenſible of his error in throwing himſelf into ground hemmed in by the ſea on one ſide, and the mountains on the other, and interſected by the river Pinarus; ſo that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in ſmall and broken parties, while, at the ſame time, this ſituation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the ſcene of action; but the ſkilful diſpoſition of his forces contributed ſtill more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very ſmall in compariſon of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up ſo as to prevent its being ſurrounded, by ſtretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in perſon, and, fighting in the foremoſt ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and, according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account he gave Antipater,

* In three days time.

pater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only says, he received a wound in his thigh by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences followed it.

The victory was a very signal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy *. Nothing was wanting to complete it but the taking of Darius; and that prince escaped narrowly, having got the start of his pursuer only by four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themselves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him, "Let us go and refresh our-"selves after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of "Darius." "Nay rather," said one of his friends, "in "the bath of Alexander; for the goods of the conquered "are, and should be called the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the basons, vials, boxes, and other vases curiously wrought in gold, smelt the fragrant odours of essences, and seen the splendid furniture of spacious apartments, he turned to his friends, and said, "This, "then, it seems, it was to be a king †!"

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that upon seeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes, than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them, "that Darius was not dead; "that they had nothing to fear from Alexander; for his "dispute with Darius was only for empire; and that they "should

* Diodorus says a hundred and thirty thousand.

† As if he had said, "Could a king place his happiness in such "enjoyments as these?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Persian luxury.

" ſhould find themſelves provided for in the ſame manner " as when Darius was in his greateſt proſperity." If this meſſage to the captive princeſſes was gracious and humane, his actions were ſtill more ſo. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Perſians they pleaſed, and for that purpoſe furniſhed them out of the ſpoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were cuſtomary. They had as many domeſtics, and were ſerved in all reſpects in as honourable a manner as before; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them ſtill more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he conſidered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modeſty and virtue, and took care that they ſhould not hear an indecent word, nor have the leaſt cauſe to ſuſpect any danger to their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple or aſylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unſeen and unapproached, in the moſt ſacred privacy.

It is ſaid, the wife of Darius was one of the moſt beautiful women, as Darius was one of the talleſt and handſomeſt men in the world, and that their daughters much reſembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himſelf, than to ſubdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them. Indeed, his continence was ſuch, that he knew not any woman before his marriage, except Barſine, who became a widow by the death of her huſband Memnon, and was taken priſoner near Damaſcus. She was well verſed in the Greek literature, a woman of the moſt agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father Artabazus * was grandſon to a king of Perſia. According to Ariſtobulus, it was Parmenio that put Alexander upon this connection with ſo accompliſhed a woman, whoſe beauty was her leaſt perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no farther notice of them, than to ſay, by way of jeſt, " What eye-ſores theſe Perſian women " are!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of ſelf-government and ſobriety; and, in the ſtrength of that, paſſed them by as ſo many ſtatues.

Philoxenus,

* Son to a king of Perſia's daughter.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coaſt, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus, a Tarentine, with him, who had two beautiful boys to ſell, and deſired to know whether he choſe to buy them. Alexander was ſo much incenſed at this application, that he aſked his friends ſeveral times, "What baſe inclinations Philoxenus had ever ſeen in him, that he durſt make him ſo infamous a propoſal?" In his anſwer to the letter, which was extremely ſevere upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to diſmiſs Theodorus and his vile merchandiſe together. He likewiſe reprimanded young Agnon, for offering to purchaſe Crobylus for him, whoſe beauty was famous in Corinth. Being informed, that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of ſome of his mercenaries, who ſerved under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair; and if they were found guilty, to put them to death, as no better than ſavages, bent on the deſtruction of human kind. In the ſame letter, ſpeaking of his own conduct, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms; "For my part, I have neither ſeen, nor deſired to ſee, the wife of Darius; ſo far from that, I have not ſuffered any man to ſpeak of her beauty before me." He uſed to ſay, "That ſleep, and the commerce with the ſex, were the things that made him moſt ſenſible of his mortality." For he conſidered both wearineſs and pleaſure as the natural effects of our weakneſs.

He was alſo very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he ſaid to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria *. Ada, to expreſs her affectionate regards, ſent him every day a number of excellent diſhes, and a handſome deſert; and at laſt ſhe ſent him ſome of her beſt cooks and bakers. But he ſaid, "He had no need of them; for he had been ſupplied with better cooks by his tutor Leonidas; a march before day to dreſs his dinner, and a light dinner to prepare his ſupper."

* This princeſs, after the death of her eldeſt brother Mauſolus, and his conſort Artemiſia, who died without children, ſucceeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom ſhe had been married, Hidreus dying before her, Pexodorus, her third brother, dethroned her, and after his death, his ſon-in-law, Orontes, ſeized the crown. But Alexander reſtored her to the poſſeſſion of her dominions.

" ſupper." He added, " that the ſame Leonidas uſed to " examine the cheſts and wardrobes in which his bedding " and clothes were put, leſt ſomething of luxury and ſu- " perfluity ſhould be introduced there by his mother."

Nor was he ſo much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was ſuppoſed ſo, becauſe he paſſed a great deal of time at table; but that time was ſpent rather in talking than drinking; every cup introducing ſome long diſcourſe. Beſides, he never made theſe long meals but when he had abundance of leiſure upon his hands. When buſineſs called, he was not to be detained by wine, or ſleep, or pleaſure, or honourable love, or the moſt entertaining ſpectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by ſome of theſe things. His life ſufficiently confirms this aſſertion; for, though very ſhort, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leiſure, as ſoon as he was riſen he ſacrificed to the gods; after which he took his dinner ſitting. The reſt of the day he ſpent in hunting, or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haſte, he would exerciſe himſelf in ſhooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full ſpeed. Sometimes alſo he diverted himſelf with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreſhed with the bath and with oil, he inquired of the ſtewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared every thing in a handſome manner for ſupper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took this meal, and then he eat in a recumbent poſture. He was very attentive to his gueſts at table, that they might be ſerved equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already obſerved, laſted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by converſation than drinking. His converſation, in many reſpects, was more agreeable than that of moſt princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of ſociety. His only fault was his retaining ſo much of the * ſoldier, as to indulge a troubleſome vanity. He would not only boaſt of his own actions, but

* The ancients, in their comic pieces, uſed always to put the Rhodomontades in the character of a ſoldier. At preſent the army have as little vanity, as any ſet of people whatever.

but ſuffered himſelf to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. Theſe wretches were an intolerable burden to the reſt of the company, who did not chooſe to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind them in their opinion of their king's atchievements.

As to delicacies, he had ſo little regard for them, that when the choiceſt fruit and fiſh were brought him from diſtant countries and ſeas, he would ſend ſome to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himſelf. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expence roſe with his fortune, till it came to ten thouſand *drachmas* for one entertainment. There it ſtood; and he did not ſuffer thoſe that invited him to exceed that ſum.

After the battle of Iſſus he ſent to Damaſcus, and ſeized the money and equipages of the Perſians, together with their wives and children. On that occaſion, the Theſſalian cavalry enriched themſelves moſt. They had, indeed, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action, and they were favoured with this commiſſion, that they might have the beſt ſhare in the ſpoil. Not but the reſt of the army found ſufficient booty; and the Macedonians having once taſted the treaſures and the luxury of the barbarians, hunted for the Perſian wealth, with all the ardour of hounds upon ſcent.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their ſubmiſſion: Only Tyre held out. He beſieged that city ſeven months, during which time he erected vaſt mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and inveſted it on the ſide next the ſea with two hundred gallies. He had a dream in which he ſaw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed, "That Apollo * declared he "would go over to Alexander, becauſe he was diſpleaſed "with their behaviour in the town." Hereupon, the Tyrians,

* One of the tyrants dreamed, he ſaw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have ſtoned him, ſuppoſing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magiſtrates, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to fix one end of a gold chain to the ſtatue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. DIODOR. Sic. lib. xvii.

Tyrians, as if the god had been a deſerter taken in the fact, loaded his ſtatue with chains, and nailed the feet to the pedeſtal; not ſcrupling to call him an *Alexandriſt*. In another dream Alexander thought he ſaw a ſatyr playing before him at ſome diſtance; and when he advanced to take him, the ſavage eluded his graſp. However, at laſt, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to ſurrender himſelf. The interpreters, plauſibly enough divided the Greek term for *ſatyr* into two, *Sa Tyros*, which ſignifies *Tyre is thine*. They ſtill ſhow us a fountain, near which Alexander is ſaid to have ſeen that viſion.

About the middle of the ſiege, he made an excurſion againſt the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great riſk of his life on account of his preceptor Lyſimachus, who inſiſted on attending him; being, as he alleged, neither older nor leſs valiant than Phœnix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horſes, to march up on foot, the reſt of the party got far before Alexander and Lyſimachus. Night came on, and, as the enemy was at no great diſtance, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years. Therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was inſenſibly ſeparated from his troops; and had a dark and very cold night to paſs in an expoſed and diſmal ſituation. In this perplexity, he obſerved at a diſtance a number of ſcattered fires which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his ſwiftneſs and activity, as well as accuſtomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a ſhare in the labour and danger, he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the barbarians that ſate watching it, he ſeized a lighted brand, and haſtened with it to his party, who ſoon kindled a great fire. The ſight of this ſo intimidated the enemy, that many of them fled, and thoſe who ventured to attack him, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. By theſe means he paſſed the night in ſafety, according to the account we have from Chares.

As for the ſiege, it was brought to a termination in this manner. Alexander had permitted his main body to repoſe themſelves, after the long and ſevere fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only ſome ſmall parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the mean time, Ariſtander, his

his principal ſoothſayer, offered ſacrifices, and one day upon inſpecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly aſſerted among thoſe about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the laſt day of the month, his aſſertion was received with ridicule and ſcorn. The king perceiving he was diſconcerted, and making it a point to bring the prophecies of his miniſters to completion, gave orders that the day ſhould not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the ſame time, he called out his forces by ſound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous aſſault than he at firſt intended. The attack was violent, and thoſe who were left behind in the camp, quitted it to have a ſhare in it, and to ſupport their fellow ſoldiers; inſomuch that the Tyrians were forced to give out, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid ſiege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his ſhoulder, and then going to perch on the croſs cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event anſwered Ariſtander's interpretation of this ſign: Alexander was wounded in the ſhoulder, but he took the city. He ſent moſt of its ſpoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the preſent he made him had ſomething particular in it. It conſiſted of five hundred * talents weight of frankincenſe, and a hundred of myrrh, and was ſent upon recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It ſeems Leonidas one day had obſerved Alexander at a ſacrifice throwing incenſe into the fire by handfuls; upon which he ſaid, "Alexander, when "you have conquered the country where ſpices grow, "you may be thus liberal of your incenſe; but, in the "mean time, uſe what you have more ſparingly." He therefore wrote thus: "I have ſent you frankincenſe and "myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl "to the gods."

A caſket

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
* The common Attic talent in Troy-weight was	56	11	00	17½
This talent conſiſted of 60 *minæ*: but there was another Attic talent, by ſome ſaid to conſiſt of 80, by others of 100 *minæ*. The *mina* was		11	7	16½
The talent of Alexandria was	104	0	19	14

A casket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the most curious and valuable things among the treasures and the whole equipage of Darius, he asked his friends, what they thought most worthy to be put in it? Different things were proposed; but he said, "The Iliad "most deserved such a case." This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians say, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary, or useless counsellor, in the course of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation. But a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation. He thought, a person with gray hair, and a very venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines—

> High o'r a gulfy sea the Pharian isle
> Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile.
>
> Pope.

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the *Canobic* mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an *isthmus*, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour *. This led him to declare,

* Ὡς ουν ειδε τόπον ευφυΐα διαφεροτὰ (ταινία γαρ εστιν ισθμω πλατος εχοντι συμμετρον επιειχως διειργουσα λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν εν λιμενι μεγαλω τεγευτωσαν.)

Dacier understands this whole passage (which, as he observes, is not without its difficulties) as a description of the isle of Pharos. It certainly was the isle of Pharos that formed the harbour, which was a double one, and he adduces the authorities of Cæsar and Virgil to prove that point. But how did the isle of Pharos lie between, or divide the sea and a great lake? Dacier takes λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν to mean the same as λιμνωδη θαλασσαν. Alexandria, however, does certainly stand between the lake Marea, or Mareotis, and the Canopic branch of the Nile, which may well enough be called a sea. And the word διειργουσα does undoubtedly signify *separating* or *dividing*.

Our

to declare, that "Homer, among his other admirable qua-"lifications, was an excellent architect," and he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendent conveniencies. For want of chalk, they made use of flour, which answered well enough upon a black soil, and they drew a line with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by strait lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

While the king was enjoying the design, on a sudden an infinite number of large birds of various kinds, rose, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake, and lighting upon the place, eat up all the flour that was used in marking out the lines. Alexander was disturbed at the omen; but the diviners encouraged him to proceed, by assuring him, it was a sign that the city he was going to build would be blessed with such plenty, as to furnish a supply to all that should repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey*; and beside the fatigue, there was two great dangers attending it. The one was, that their water might fail, in a desert of many days journey, which afforded no supply; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of sand,

Our version of this passage is, moreover, confirmed by the account which Diodorus the Sicilian gives of the situation of Alexandria. That historian says, it was seated very commodiously by the haven of Pharos; the streets were so contrived as to admit the cooling breezes, which refreshed the air. Alexander ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn around it, so as to have the sea close on the one side, and a great lake on the other. Its form resembled that of a soldier's cloak. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after ages so rich and famous, that there were on its rolls three hundred thousand freemen. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii.

* As to his motives in this journey, historians disagree. Arrian (l. iii. c. 3.) tells us, he took it in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of which had consulted that oracle, when he was dispatched against the Gorgons; and the latter twice; viz. when he went into Lybia against Antæus, and when he marched into Egygt against Busiris. Now, as Perseus and Hercules gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Hammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (*Serm.* xxv.) informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile; and Justin (l. xi. c. 11.) says, the intention of this visit was to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of a divine origin.

ſand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyſes. The wind raiſed the ſand, and rolled it in ſuch waves, that it devoured full fifty thouſand men. Theſe difficulties were conſidered and repreſented to Alexander; but it was not eaſy to divert him from any of his purpoſes. Fortune had ſupported him in ſuch a manner, that his reſolutions were become invincibly ſtrong; and his courage inſpired him with ſuch a ſpirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he muſt conquer both time and place.

The divine aſſiſtances which Alexander experienced in this march, met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though thoſe extraordinary aſſiſtances, in ſome meaſure, confirmed the oracles. In the firſt place, Jupiter ſent ſuch a copious and conſtant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of ſuffering by thirſt, but, by moiſtening the ſand, and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear and fit for reſpiration. In the next place, when they found the marks which were to ſerve for guides to travellers, removed or defaced, and in conſequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way. When they marched briſkly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows alſo ſtopped. What is ſtill ſtranger, Calliſthenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, theſe birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had paſſed the deſert, and was arrived at the place, the miniſter of Ammon received him with ſalutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired, "Whether any of the aſſaſſins of his father had "eſcaped him," the prieſt deſired he would not expreſs himſelf in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." Then he aſked, "Whether all the murderers of Philip "were puniſhed; and whether it was given the propo- "nent to be the conqueror of the world." Jupiter anſwered, "That he granted him that high diſtinction; and "that the death of Philip was ſufficiently avenged." Upon this, Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the prieſts with preſents of great value. This is the account moſt hiſtorians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himſelf, in the

the letter he wrote to his mother on that occaſion, only ſays, "He received certain private anſwers from the ora-"cle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, "at his return."

Some ſay, Ammon's prophet being deſirous to addreſs him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to ſay, *O Paidion*, which ſignifies, *My Son;* but in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s*, inſtead of an *n*, and ſo ſaid, *O pai dios*, which ſignifies, *O Son of Jupiter*. Alexander (they add) was delighted with the miſtake in the pronunciation, and from that miſtake was propagated a report, that Jupiter himſelf had called him his ſon.

He went to hear Pſammo an Egyptian philoſopher, and the ſaying of his that pleaſed him moſt, was, "That all "men are governed by God, for in every thing that "which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to ſound philoſophy: He ſaid, "God is the common father of men, but more par-"ticularly of the good and virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, ſuch as might ſuit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a ſmall degree, and with great caution, that he aſſumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We muſt except, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos. "It was not I who "gave you that free and famous city, but your then Lord, "who was called my father," meaning Philip *.

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he ſaid, "My "friends, this is blood, and not the ichor

"Which bleſt immortals ſhed."

One day it happened to thunder in ſuch a dreadful manner, that it aſtoniſhed all that heard it; upon which, Anaxarchus the ſophiſt, being in company with him, ſaid, "Son of Jupiter, could you do ſo?" Alexander anſwered, with a ſmile, "I do not chooſe to be ſo terrible to my "friends as you would have me, who deſpiſe my enter-"tainments, becauſe you ſee fiſh ſerved up, and not the "heads of Perſian grandees." It ſeems the king had made Hephæſtion

* He knew the Athenians were ſunk into ſuch meanneſs, that they would readily admit his pretenſions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

Hephæſtion a preſent of ſome ſmall fiſh, and Anaxarchus obſerving it, ſaid, "Why did he not rather ſend you the "heads of princes *;" intimating, how truly deſpicable thoſe glittering things are which conquerors purſue with ſo much danger and fatigue; ſince, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing ſuperior to thoſe of other men. It appears, then, from what has been ſaid, that Alexander neither believed, nor was elated with, the notion of his divinity, but that he only made uſe of it as a means to bring others into ſubjection.

At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods, with ſacrifices and ſolemn proceſſions; on which occaſion the people were entertained with muſic and dancing, and tragedies were preſented in the greateſt perfection, not only in reſpect of the magnificence of the ſcenery, but the ſpirit of emulation in thoſe who exhibited them. In Athens perſons are choſen by lot out of the tribes to conduct thoſe exhibitions; but in this caſe the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour; particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Paſicrates king of Soli. They choſe the moſt celebrated actors that could be found; Paſicrates riſked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Theſſalus. Alexander intereſted himſelf particularly in behalf of the latter; but did not diſcover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the ſuffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he ſaid, "I commend the judges for what they "have done; but I would have given half my kingdom "rather than have ſeen Theſſalus conquered."

However, when Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for not making his appearance on their ſtage at the feaſts of Bacchus, and entreated Alexander to write to them in his favour; though he refuſed to comply with that requeſt, he paid his fine for him. Another actor, named

* Diogenes imputes this ſaying of Anaxarchus to the averſion he had for Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, aſked him how he liked his entertainment? "It is excellent," replied the gueſt, "it wants but "one diſh, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant." Not the heads of the *Satrapæ*, or goyernors of provinces, as it is in Plutarch. If the philoſopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he paid dear for his ſaying afterwards; for after the death of Alexander, he was forced, by contrary winds, upon the coaſt of Cyprus, where the tyrant ſeized him, and put him to death.

named Lycon, a native of Scarphia, performing with great applauſe before Alexander, dextrouſly inſerted in one of the ſpeeches of the comedy, a verſe, in which he aſked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

It was about this time, that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince propoſed, on condition of a pacification and future friendſhip, to pay him ten thouſand talents in ranſom of the priſoners, to cede to him all the countries on this ſide the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating theſe propoſals to his friends, Parmenio ſaid, "If I were "Alexander, I would accept them." So would I *," ſaid Alexander, "if I were Parmenio." The anſwer he gave Darius was, "That if he would come to him, he "would find the beſt of treatment; if not, he muſt go "and ſeek him."

In conſequence of this declaration, he began his march; but he repented that he had ſet out ſo ſoon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princeſs died in child-bed; and the concern of Alexander was great, becauſe he loſt an opportunity of exerciſing his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmoſt magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed chamber, named Tyreus, who was taken priſoner along with the princeſſes, at this time made eſcape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen's death.

Darius ſmote upon his head, and ſhed a torrent of tears. After which, he cried out, "Ah cruel deſtiny of the Per- "ſians! Was the wife and ſiſter of their king, not only "to be taken captive, but after her death to be deprived "of the obſequies due to her high rank!" The eunuch anſwered, "As to her obſequies, O king, and all the "honours the queen had a right to claim, there is no "reaſon to blame the evil genius of the Perſians. For "neither my miſtreſs, Statira, during her life, or your "royal mother, or children, miſſed any of the advan- "tages of their former fortune, except the beholding the "light of your countenance, which the great Oro-

maſdes

* Longinus takes notice of this as an inſtance, that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common diſcourſe, to let fall ſomething great and ſublime.

" maſdes * will again cauſe to ſhine with as much luſtre " as before. So far from being deprived of any of the " ſolemnities of a funeral, the queen was honoured with " the tears of her very enemies. For Alexander is as " mild in the uſe of his victories, as he is terrible in bat- " tle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and ſtrange ſuſpicions took poſſeſſion of his ſoul. He took the eunuch into the moſt private apartment in his pavilion, and ſaid, " If thou doſt not revolt to the Macedonians, as the " fortune of Perſia has done, but ſtill acknowledgeſt in " me thy Lord; tell me, as thou honoureſt the light of " Mithra and the right hand of the king, is not the death " of Statira the leaſt of her misfortunes I have to lament? " Did not ſhe ſuffer more dreadful things while ſhe lived? " And, amidſt all our calamities, would not our diſgrace " have been leſs, had we met with a more rigorous and " ſavage enemy? For what engagement in the compaſs " of virtue could bring a young man to do ſuch honour to " the wife of his enemy?

While the king was yet ſpeaking, Tirens humbled his face to the earth, and entreated him not to make uſe of expreſſions ſo unworthy of himſelf, ſo injurious to Alexander, and ſo diſhonourable to the memory of his deceaſed wife and ſiſter; nor to deprive himſelf of the greateſt of conſolations in his misfortune, the reflecting that he was not defeated but by a perſon ſuperior to human nature. He aſſured him, Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of his behaviour to the Perſian women, than for the valour he exerted againſt the men. At the ſame time, he confirmed all he had ſaid, with the moſt awful oaths, and expatiated ſtill more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he ſaid, " Ye gods, who are the " guardians of our birth and the protectors of king- " doms, grant that I may re-eſtabliſh the fortunes of Per- " ſia, and leave them in the glory I found them; that " victory may put it in my power to return Alexander the

* *Oromaſdes* was worſhipped by the Perſians as the Author of all Good; and *Arimanius* deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles from which they were believed to ſpring, Light and Darkneſs. The Perſian writers call them *Yezdan* and *Ahrimun*.

" favours, which my deareſt pledges experienced from him " in my fall! But if the time determined by fate and the " divine wrath, or brought about by the viciſſitude of " things, is now come, and the glory of the Perſians muſt " fall, may none but Alexander ſit on the throne of Cy- " rus!" In this manner were things conducted, and ſuch were the ſpeeches uttered on this occaſion, according to the tenor of hiſtory.

Alexander having ſubdued all on this ſide the Euphrates, began his march againſt Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the ſervants of the army had divided themſelves into two bands, and that each had choſen a chief, one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to ſkirmiſh with clods, and afterwards fought with their fiſts; and at laſt, heated with a deſire of victory, many of them came to ſtones and ſticks, inſomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in ſingle combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the ſame for Darius. The whole army ſtood and looked on, conſidering the event of this combat as a preſage of the iſſue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a preſent of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Perſian robe, as Eratoſthenes tells the ſtory.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela*, as moſt hiſtorians will have it, but at Gaugamela, which, in the Perſian tongue, is ſaid to ſignify *the houſe of the camel;* ſo called, becauſe one † of the ancient kings having eſcaped his enemies by the ſwiftneſs of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of *September* there happened an eclipſe ‡ of the moon, about the beginning of the feſtival of the great

* But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela, a conſiderable town, ſtood near it, the Macedonians choſe to diſtinguiſh the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, croſſed the deſarts of Scythia, upon that camel.

‡ Aſtronomers aſſure us, this eclipſe of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian kalendar; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought the 1ſt of October

great mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light. Meantime Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer Aristander, performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to FEAR *. The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordyæan Mountains, all illuminated with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from their camp, like the bellowings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it would be, to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated answer, *I will not steal a victory.*

It is true, this answer has been thought by some to savour of the vanity of a young man, who derided the most obvious danger: Yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic enough in respect to the future; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkness had been his adversaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow passes, and the sea. For in such a vast empire, it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the dispute; but the ruin of his hopes and spirits, in consequence of the loss of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers and of day-light.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual; insomuch, that when his officers came

* In the printed text it is Φοίβῳ, to *Apollo*, but Amiot tells us, he found in several MSS. Φόβῳ, to FEAR. FEAR was not without her altars; Theseus sacrificed to her, as we have seen in his life: And Plutarch tells us, in the life of Agis and Cleomenes, that the Lacedemonians built a temple to FEAR, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious demon, but as the bond of all good government.

to attend him the next day, they could not but expreſs their ſurpriſe at it, while they were obliged themſelves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning * refreſhment. After this, as the occaſion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and, ſtanding by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer aſked him, "Why he ſlept like a man that had "already conquered, and not rather like one who had "the greateſt battle the world ever heard of to fight?" Alexander ſmiled at the queſtion, and ſaid, "In what light "can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have "not now to traverſe deſolate countries in purſuit of Da-"rius, and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander ſhowed his intrepidity and excellent judgment. For the battle was ſometime doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almoſt broken by the impetuoſity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged; and Mazæus had, moreover, detached a party of horſe, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly diſturbed at theſe circumſtances, ſent meſſengers to acquaint Alexander, that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately diſpatch a ſtrong reinforcement from the front to the rear. The moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in perſon, the ſignal to charge. He ſtopped, however, to tell the meſſenger, "Parmenio muſt have loſt his ſenſes, and in his diſorder "muſt have forgot, that the conquerors are always ma-"ſters of all that belonged to the enemy; and the con-"quered need not give themſelves any concern about "their treaſures or priſoners, nor have any thing to think "of but how to ſell their lives dear, and die in the bed "of honour."

As ſoon as he had returned Parmenio this anſwer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a ſhort coat of the Sicilian faſhion, girt cloſe about him, and over that a breaſt-plate of linen ſtrongly quilted, which was found among the ſpoils, at the battle of Iſſus. His helmet, the workmanſhip

* Ἀριστοποιΐαν.

ſhip of Theophilus, was of iron, but ſo well poliſhed, that it ſhone like the brighteſt ſilver. To this was fitted a gorget of the ſame metal, ſet with precious ſtones. His ſword, the weapon he generally uſed in battle, was a preſent from the King of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightneſs or for temper. But the belt which he wore in all engagements was more ſuperb than the reſt of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their reſpect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army, and giving orders, as well as exerciſing and reviewing it, he ſpared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horſe; but he conſtantly charged upon him; and he had no ſooner mounted him, than the ſignal was always given.

The ſpeech he made to the Theſſalians and the other Greeks, was of ſome length on this occaſion. When he found that they, in their turn, ſtrove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them againſt the barbarians, he ſhifted his javelin to his left hand; and ſtretching his right hand towards heaven, according to Calliſthenes, he entreated the gods "to defend and invigorate the "Greeks, if he was really the ſon of Jupiter."

Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, who rode by his ſide, in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his courſe againſt the enemy. The ſight of this ſo animated the troops, that, after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full ſpeed, and the *phalanx* ruſhed on like a torrent *. Before the firſt ranks were well engaged,

* Plutarch, as a writer of lives, not of hiſtories, does not pretend to give an exact deſcription of battles. But as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to ſee ſome of the more remarkable in detail, we ſhall give Arrian's account of this.

Alexander's right wing charged firſt upon the Scythian horſe, who, as they were well armed, and very robuſt, behaved at the beginning very well, and made a vigorous reſiſtance. That this might anſwer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the ſame time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire deſtruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and ſtones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horſes ſo that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only paſſed through, and were then either taken, or diſabled by his bodies of reſerve. The horſe

the barbarians gave way, and Alexander preſſed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midſt of the hoſt, where Darius acted in perſon. For he beheld him at a diſtance, over the foremoſt ranks, amidſt his royal ſquadron. Beſides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his ſize and beauty. A numerous body of ſelect cavalry ſtood in cloſe order about the chariot, and ſeemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared ſo terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon thoſe who ſtill maintained their ground, that they were ſeized with conſternation, and the greateſt part of them diſperſed. A few of the beſt and braveſt of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, ſtrove to ſtop the purſuit; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horſes legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the moſt dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead bodies,

horſe continued ſtill engaged; and before any thing deciſive happened there, the Perſian foot, near their left wing, began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating ſo far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander, perceiving this, ſent Aretas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the mean time, proſecuting his firſt deſign, he broke their cavalry in the left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Perſian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble reſiſtance. Darius, perceiving this, gave up all for loſt, and fled.

Vide ARRIAN, l. iii. c. 15. et ſeq. ubi plura.

Diodorus aſcribes the ſucceſs which for a time attended the Perſian troops entirely to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened, that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which, though it miſſed him, ſtruck the charioteer, who ſat at his feet, dead; and as he fell forwards, ſome of the guards raiſed a loud cry: whence thoſe behind them conjectured that the king was ſlain, and thereupon fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who knowing the route he took could not be diſcovered on account of the duſt and confuſion, wheeled about, and got behind the Perſian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander purſued right forwards. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii.

Juſtin tells us, that when thoſe about Darius adviſed him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, to retard the enemy's purſuit, he anſwered, "I will never purchaſe ſafety to myſelf at the expence of ſo "many thouſands of my ſubjects, as muſt by this means be loſt."

JUST. l. xi. c. 14.

bodies, ſo that it was almoſt impoſſible to turn it; and the horſes plunging among heaps of the ſlain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But, in all probability, he had not eſcaped ſo, if Parmenio had not again ſent ſome horſemen to deſire Alexander to come to his aſſiſtance, becauſe great part of the enemy's forces ſtill ſtood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole, Parmenio is accuſed of want of ſpirit and activity in that battle: Whether it was that age had damped his courage, or whether, as Calliſthenes tells us, he looked upon Alexander's power, and the pompous behaviour he aſſumed, with an invidious eye, and conſidered it as an unſupportable burden *. Alexander, though vexed at being ſo ſtopt in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the meſſage; but, under pretence of being weary of ſuch a carnage, and of its growing dark, ſounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of the army which had been repreſented in danger, he was informed that the enemy was totally defeated, and put to flight.

The battle having ſuch an iſſue, the Perſian empire appeared to be entirely deſtroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Aſia. The firſt thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods by magnificent ſacrifices, and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houſes, eſtates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himſelf to the Greeks, he ſignified by letter, that all tyrannies ſhould be aboliſhed, and that they ſhould be governed by their own laws, under the auſpices of freedom. To the Platæans in particular, he wrote, that their city ſhould be rebuilt, becauſe their anceſtors had made a preſent of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cauſe of liberty upon their own lands. He ſent alſo a part of the ſpoils to the

* The truth ſeems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confeſſed Parmenio to be the only general he knew; and on this occaſion he probably conſidered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, the corps of Perſians would have been able to keep the field, and the fugitives rallying, and joining it, there would have been a reſpectable force which might have regained the day.

Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the ſpirit and courage of their countryman * Phaylus, a champion of the wreſtling-ring, who, in the war with the Medes, when the reſt of the Greeks in Italy ſent no aſſiſtance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ſhip at his own expence, and repaired to Salamis, to take his ſhare in the common danger. Such a pleaſure did Alexander take in every inſtance of virtue, and ſo faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions!

† He traverſed all the province of Babylon, which immediately made its ſubmiſſion; and in the diſtrict of Ecbatana he was particularly ſtruck with a gulf of fire, which ſtreamed continually, as from an inexhauſtible ſource. He admired alſo a flood of *naptha*, not far from the gulf, which flowed in ſuch abundance that it formed a lake. The *naptha* in many reſpects reſembles the *bitumen*, but it is much more inflammable ‡. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at ſome diſtance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to ſhow the king its force, and the ſubtilty of its nature, ſcattered ſome drops of it in the ſtreet which led to his lodgings; and, ſtanding at one end, they applied their torches to ſome of the firſt drops; for it was night. The flame communicated itſelf ſwifter than thought, and the ſtreet was inſtantaneouſly all on fire.

There was one Athenophanes, an Athenian, who, among others, waited on Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man had the greateſt ſucceſs in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy, named Stephen, happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his perſon, but an excellent ſinger, Athenophanes ſaid to the king, "Shall we make an experiment of the *naptha* upon "Stephen? If it takes fire upon him, and does not pre-

"ſently

* In Herodotus, *Phayllus*. See l. viii. 47.

† In the original it is, *As he traverſed the territory of Babylon, he found in the diſtrict of Ecbatana*, &c. Every body knows that Ecbatana was in Media, not in the province of Babylon. The gulf here mentioned was near Arbela, in the diſtrict of *Artacene*. [See STRAB. ed. Par. p 737. D. & ſeq.] But Scaliger propoſes, that we ſhould read *Arectane* (from *Arec*, mentioned Gen. x. 10.) both here, inſtead of Ecbatana, and in the paſſage of Strabo above cited.

‡ Sunt qui et naptham bituminis generi aſcribunt. Verum ardens ejus vis ignium naturæ cognata procul omni ab uſu eſt.

PLIN. Hiſt. Nat.

"ſently die out, we muſt allow its force to be extraor-"dinary indeed." The boy readily conſented to undergo the trial; but as ſoon as he was anointed with it *, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely conſumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many veſſels of water for the ſervice of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguiſh the fire, and the poor boy felt the bad effects of it as long as he lived.

Thoſe, therefore, who deſire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unſupported by probability, when they ſay, it was this drug with which Medea † anointed the crown and veil ſo well known upon the ſtage. For the flame did not come from the crown or veil, nor did they take fire of themſelves; but, upon the approach of fire, they ſoon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at ſome diſtance have no other effect upon moſt bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in thoſe which are dry and porous, or ſaturated with oily particles, they collect themſelves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter ſo well fitted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty as to the generation of this *naptha*; whether it derives its inflammable quality from ‡ — — — — — — —, or rather from the unctuous and ſulphureous nature of the ſoil. For in the province of Babylon the ground is of ſo fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulſation to the earth. And in the hot months the people are obliged to ſleep upon ſkins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants; and he ſucceeded in every thing, except ivy. After all his attempts to propagate that plant, it died: For it loves a cold ſoil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that mold. Such digreſ-

* As no mention is made here of the application of fire, unleſs that be couched under the words *και θιγειν*, we muſt ſuppoſe an electrical virtue in the *naptha*. But Plutarch ſeems to diſclaim that afterwards, in the caſe of Creon's daughter.

† Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem
Serpente fugit alite. HOR.

‡ Something here is wanting in the original.

ſions as theſe the niceſt readers may endure, provided they are not too long.

Alexander having made himſelf maſter of Suſa, found in the king's palace * forty thouſand talents in coined money, and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpreſſible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione, worth five thouſand talents †, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its firſt freſhneſs and beauty. The reaſon they aſſign for this, is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are aſſured, that ſpecimens of the ſame kind and age are ſtill to be ſeen in all their priſtine luſtre. Dinon informs us, that the kings of Perſia uſed to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treaſures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and their being maſters of the world.

The entrance into Perſia was difficult, on account of the roughneſs of the country in that part, and becauſe the paſſes were guarded by the braveſt of the Perſians; for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man who ſpoke both Greek and Perſian, having a Lycian to his father, and a Perſian woman to his mother, offered himſelf as a guide to Alexander, and ſhowed him how he might enter by taking a circuit. This was the perſon the prieſteſs of Apollo had in view, when, upon Alexander's conſulting her at a very early period of life, ſhe foretold, "That a "Lycian would conduct him into Perſia." Thoſe that firſt fell into his hands there, were ſlaughtered in vaſt numbers. He tells us, he ordered that no quarter ſhould be given, becauſe he thought ſuch an example would be of ſervice to his affairs. It is ſaid, he found as much gold and ſilver coin there as he did at Suſa, and that there was ſuch a quantity of other treaſures and rich moveables, that it loaded ten thouſand pair of mules and ‡ five thouſand camels.

At Perſepolis he caſt his eyes upon a great ſtatue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedeſtal by the crowd

* Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, ſays fifty thouſand.

† Or five thouſand talents weight. Dacier calls it ſo many hundred weight; and the eaſtern talent was nearly that weight. Pliny tells us, that a pound of the double dipt Tyrian purple, in the time of Auguſtus, was ſold for an hundred crowns.

‡ Diodorus ſays three thouſand.

crowd that ſuddenly ruſhed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he ſtopped, and addreſſed it as if it had been alive: "Shall we leave you," ſaid he, "in this "condition, on account of the war you made upon "Greece, or rear you again for the ſake of your magna-"nimity and other virtues?" After he had ſtood a long time conſidering in ſilence which he ſhould do, he paſſed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refreſh themſelves, he ſtaid there four months; for it was winter.

The firſt time he ſate down on the throne of the kings of Perſia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the ſame friendſhip and affection for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is ſaid to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation, "What a pleaſure have thoſe Greeks miſſed, who "died without ſeeing Alexander ſeated on the throne of "Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching againſt Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their ſhare in it, for they came in maſquerade to ſeek their lovers. The moſt celebrated among theſe women was Thais, a native of Attica, and miſtreſs to Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When ſhe had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, ſhe addreſſed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the ſpirit of her country, but far above a perſon of her ſtamp. "I "have undergone great fatigues," ſaid ſhe, "in wandering "about Aſia; but this day has brought me a compenſa-"tion, by putting it in my power to inſult the proud "courts of the Perſian kings. Ah! how much greater "pleaſure would it be to finiſh the carouſal with burn-"ing the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in aſhes, "and to ſet fire to it myſelf in the ſight of Alexander *! "Then ſhall it be ſaid in times to come, that the women

* Theſe domes were not reared ſolely for regal magnificence and ſecurity; but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to ſecrete the royal pleaſures from thoſe that toiled to gratify them. Thus as this noble ſtructure was poſſibly raiſed not only for vanity but for riot; ſo probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell. A ſtriking inſtance of the inſignificancy of human labours, and the depravity of human nature!

" of his train, have more ſignally avenged the cauſe of " Greece upon the Perſians, than all that the generals be- " fore him could do by ſea or land."

This ſpeech was received with the loudeſt plaudits and moſt tumultuary acclamations. All the company ſtrove to perſuade the king to comply with the propoſal. At laſt, yielding to their inſtances, he leaped from his ſeat, and with his garland on his head and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The reſt followed with ſhouts of joy, and, dancing as they went, ſpread themſelves round the palace. The Macedonians who got intelligence of this frolic, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleaſure. For they concluded, from his deſtroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not deſign to fix his ſeat among the barbarians. Such is the account moſt writers give us of the motives of this tranſaction. There are not, however, wanting thoſe who aſſert, that it was in conſequence of cool reflection. But all agree that the king ſoon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguiſhed.

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increaſed with his extraordinary acquiſitions; and he had alſo a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irreſiſtible charm. To give a few inſtances: Ariſton, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and ſaid, " Among us, Sir, ſuch a preſent is re- " warded with a golden cup." The king anſwered, with a ſmile, " An empty one, I ſuppoſe; but I will give you " one full of good wine; and here, my boy, I drink to " you." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumſtances was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burden upon his own ſhoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to ſee him, and being informed what it was, ſaid, " Hold on, friend, " the reſt of the way, and carry it to your own tent; for " it is yours." Indeed, he was generally more offended at thoſe who refuſed his preſents, than at thoſe who aſked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion, " That he " could no longer number him among his friends, if he " rejected the marks of his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at

at ball, becauſe he aſked nothing. One day, when they were at their diverſion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which, Alexander ſaid, "Why do not you give it me?" Becauſe you did "not aſk for it," ſaid the youth. The repartee pleaſed the king much; he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable preſents. One Proteas, a man of humour, and a jeſter by profeſſion, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he ſued for pardon with tears; which at laſt the king granted. "If you do "really pardon me," reſumed the wag, "I hope you will "give me at leaſt ſome ſubſtantial proof of it." And he condeſcended to do it in a preſent of five talents.

With what a free hand he ſhowered his gifts upon his friends *, and thoſe who attended on his perſon, appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You do well," ſaid ſhe, "in ſerving your friends, and it is right to act "nobly; but, by making them all equal to kings, in pro-"portion as you put it in their power to make friends, "you deprive yourſelf of that privilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters ſecret, except one, which Hephæſtion happened to caſt his eye upon, when he went, according to cuſtom, to read over the king's ſhoulder; he did not hinder him from reading on; only, when he had done, he took his ſignet from his finger, and put it to his mouth †.

The ſon of Mazæus, who was the principal favourite of Darius, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government ſtill more conſiderable. But the young man declined it in a handſome manner, and ſaid, "Sir, we had but one Darius, and now "you make many Alexanders." He beſtowed on Parmenio the houſe of Bagoas, in which were found ſuch ‡ goods as were taken at Suſa, to the value of a thouſand talents.

* He probably means in particular the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, to attend with horſes when he went to fight or to hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber door.

† To enjoin him ſilence.

‡ Των περι σουσων—ιματισμων, *drapery goods*. This we take to mean ſuch like purple as was taken at Suſa, or perhaps that very purple. Dacier reads *Hephæſtion*, inſtead of *Parmenio*. The Vulcob. MS. has Χιων inſtead of Σουσων, which is certainly better.

talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him, that there was a deſign formed againſt his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent preſents; but he would not ſuffer her buſy genius to exert itſelf in ſtate affairs, or in the leaſt to controul the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardſhip, and he bore her ill humour with great mildneſs. Antipater once wrote him a long letter full of heavy complaints againſt her; and when he had read it, he ſaid, "Antipater knows not that one tear "of a mother can blot out a thouſand ſuch complaints."

He found that his great officers ſet no bounds to their luxury, that they were moſt extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuſe in other reſpects; inſomuch that Agnon of Teos wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes; Leonatus had many camel loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himſelf with when he went to the wreſtling-ring, Philotas had hunting-nets that would encloſe the ſpace of a hundred furlongs, more made uſe of rich eſſences than oil after bathing, and had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved with all the temper of a philoſopher. He told them, "It was very ſtrange to him, that, after "having undergone ſo many glorious conflicts, they did "not remember that thoſe who come from labour and exerciſe always ſleep more ſweetly than the inactive and "effeminate; and that in comparing the Perſian manners "with the Macedonian, they did not perceive that nothing was more ſervile than the love of pleaſure, or "more princely than a life of toil. How will that man," continued he, "take care of his own horſe, or furbiſh his "lance and helmet, whoſe hands are too delicate to wait "on his own dear perſon? Know you not that the end of "conqueſt is, not to do what the conquered have done, "but ſomething greatly ſuperior?" After this, he conſtantly took the exerciſe of war or hunting, and expoſed himſelf to danger and fatigue with leſs precaution than ever; ſo that a Lacedemonian ambaſſador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, ſaid, "Alex"ander, you have diſputed the prize of royalty gloriouſly "with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece repreſented in bronze, and conſecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with

with the lion, and Craterus making up to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his person, by way of exercise for himself, and example to others. But his friends, in the pride of wealth, were so devoted to luxury and ease, that they considered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and speak ill of the king. At first he bore their censures with great moderation, and used to say, "There was something noble "in hearing himself ill spoken of while he was doing "well *." Indeed, in the least of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and respect. We will give an instance or two of it. He wrote to Peucestas, who had been bit by a bear in hunting, to complain, that he had given an account of the accident, by letters to others of his friends, and not to him. "But "now," says he, "let me know, however, how you do, "and whether any of your company deserted you, that "I may punish them, if such there were." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he acquainted him, in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themselves with hunting the † ichneumon, Craterus had the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdicca's lance. When Peucestas recovered of a dangerous illness, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus the physician, to thank him for his care. During the sickness of Craterus, the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery, and

* Voltaire says somewhere, that it is a noble thing to make ingrates. He seems to be indebted for the sentiment to Alexander.

† The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash colour; its nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, chameleons, &c. and is of great service in Egypt, by its natural instinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that, rolling itself up in mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.

Diod. Sic. p. 32, 78. Plin. l. viii. c. 24, 25.

The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon for destroying the crocodiles: They worshipped the crocodile, too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

and ordered him to do the ſame. Upon Pauſanias the phyſician's deſign to give Craterus a doſe of hellebore, he wrote to him, expreſſing his great anxiety about it, and deſiring him to be particularly cautious in the uſe of that medicine. He impriſoned Ephialtes and Ciſſus, who brought him the firſt news of the flight and treaſonable practices of Harpalus, ſuppoſing their information falſe. Upon his ſending home the invalids and the ſuperannuated, Eurylochus, the Agæan, got himſelf enrolled among the former. Soon after, it was diſcovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confeſſed it was the love of Teleſippa, who was going to return home, that put him upon that expedient to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was; and being informed that, though a courtezan, ſhe was not a ſlave, he ſaid, "Eurylochus, I "am willing to aſſiſt you in this affair; but, as the woman "is free born, you muſt ſee if we can prevail upon her by "preſents and courtſhip."

It is ſurpriſing that he had time or inclination to write letters about ſuch unimportant affairs of his friends, as to give orders for diligent ſearch to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus's run-away ſlave; to commend Peuceſtas for having ſeized Nicon, a ſlave that belonged to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus, if poſſible, to draw another ſlave from his aſylum, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is ſaid, that in the firſt years of his reign, when capital cauſes were brought before him, he uſed to ſtop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reſerve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many falſe informations which were afterwards lodged, and which, by means of ſome true circumſtances, were ſo repreſented, as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. Particularly in caſe of aſperſions upon his own character, his reaſon forſook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly ſevere; as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he marched againſt Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Beſſus had ſeized the perſon of that prince, he diſmiſſed the Theſſalians, and ſent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thouſand talents, over and above their pay

The purſuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thouſand three hundred furlongs in eleven days *. As they often ſuffered more for want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, ſome Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. Theſe people ſeeing Alexander greatly diſtreſſed with thirſt (for it was in the heat of the day), immediately filled a helmet with water, and preſented it to him. He aſked them to whom they were carrying it? and they ſaid, "Their ſons: but if our prince does but live, we "ſhall get other children, if we loſe them." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and ſeeing all the horſemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praiſed the people that offered it, and ſaid, "If I alone drink, theſe good men will be diſpi-"rited †." The cavalry, who were witneſſes to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us "march! We are neither weary nor thirſty, nor ſhall we "even think ourſelves mortal, while under the conduct of "ſuch a king." At the ſame time they put ſpurs to their horſes.

They had all the ſame affection to the cauſe, but only ſixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and ſilver that lay ſcattered about, and paſſing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they haſtened to the leading ſquadrons, not doubting that they ſhould find Darius among them. At laſt, after much ſearch, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his laſt moments, he had ſtrength to aſk for ſomething to quench his thirſt. A Macedonian, named Polyſtratus, brought him ſome cold water, and when he had drank, he ſaid, "Friend, this fills up the "meaſure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to "reward

* As this was no more than forty miles a day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared to Charles the Twelfth's march from Bender through Germany; nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coaſt.

† Lucan has embelliſhed this ſtory for Cato, and has poſſibly introduced it merely upon imitation.

" reward thee for this act of kindneſs. But Alexander " will not let thee go without a recompence; and the " gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my mo- " ther, to my wife and children. Tell him I gave him " my hand, for I gave it thee in his ſtead." So ſaying, he took the hand of Polyſtratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up, he ſhowed his concern for that event by the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Beſſus afterwards fell into his hands, and he puniſhed his parricide in this manner. He cauſed two ſtrait trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made faſt to each; then ſuffering the trees to return to their former poſture, his body was torn aſunder by the violence of the recoil *.

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it ſhould have all the honours of a royal funeral, and ſent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caſpian ſea, which appeared to him not leſs than the Euxine, but its water was of a ſweeter taſte. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it came from an outlet of the Paulus Mæotis. Yet the ancient naturaliſts were not ignorant of its origin; for, many years before Alexander's expedition, they wrote, that there are four ſeas which ſtretch from the main ocean into the continent, the fartheſt north of which is, the Hyrcanian or the Caſpian †. The barbarians here fell ſuddenly upon a party who were leading his horſe Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him ſo much, that he ſent a herald to threaten them, their wives and children, with utter extermination, if they did not reſtore him the horſe. But, upon their bringing him back, and ſurrendering to him their cities, he treated them with great clemency, and paid a conſiderable ſum, by way of ranſom, to thoſe that took the horſe.

From

* Q. Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered up the aſſaſſin to Oxathres, the brother of Darius; in conſequence of which he had his noſe and ears cut off, and was faſtened to a croſs, where he was diſpatched with darts and arrows.

† This is an error which Pliny too has followed. The Caſpian ſea has no communication with the ocean.

From thence he marched into Parthia; where, finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings: whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much a similarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain men's hearts; or whether it was by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference, by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. However, he thought the Median habit made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the long breeches, or the sweeping train, or the *tiara*; but adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and sate for the dispatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to please himself a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence seemed due to a prince, who, beside his other hardships, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner, that splinters were taken out; who, another time, had such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of the neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, and continued for some time; and yet continued to expose his person without the least precaution. On the contrary, when he passed the Orexartes, which he supposed to be the Tenais, he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, in spite of what he suffered at that time from a flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Policritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Ister, and many other historians, report. But Aristobulus, Chares * of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip, who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecatæus of

* In the Greek text it is εισαγγελευς, both here and just after Εισαγγελευς signifies a gentleman usher; but it does not appear that either Chares or Philip ever had such an office. It is certain Θεαγγελευς is the right reading, from Athenæus, book vi. p. 271, where he mentions Philip as belonging to Theangela in Caria.

of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, treat the ſtory as a fiction. And indeed Alexander himſelf ſeems to ſupport their opinion. For in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that paſſed, he ſays, the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes not the leaſt mention of the Amazon. Nay, when Oneſicritus, many years after, read to Lyſimachus, then king, the fourth book of his hiſtory, in which this ſtory was introduced, he ſmiled, and ſaid, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular or not, is a matter that will neither add to nor leſſen our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might diſlike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greateſt part of the army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a ſelect body of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. The purport of his ſpeech upon the occaſion was this: "Hitherto the barbarians have "ſeen us only in a dream. If you ſhould think of re- "turning, after having given Aſia the alarm only, they "will fall upon you with contempt as unenterpriſing and "effeminate. Nevertheleſs, ſuch as deſire to depart have "my conſent for it: But, at the ſame time, I call the "gods to witneſs, that they deſert their king when he is "conquering the world for the Macedonians, and leave "him to the kinder and more faithful attachment of thoſe "few friends that will follow his fortune." This is almoſt word for word the ſame with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had no ſooner done ſpeaking, "than they cried, he might lead them to what part of the "world he pleaſed." Thus he tried the diſpoſition of theſe brave men; and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body into their ſentiments; they followed of courſe.

After this, he accommodated himſelf more than ever to the manners of the Aſiatics, and at the ſame time perſuaded them to adopt ſome of the Macedonian faſhions: for by a mixture of both, he thought an union might be promoted, much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a diſtance. For the ſame reaſon, he ſelected thirty thouſand boys, and gave them maſters

ters to inſtruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He ſaw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irreſiſtible. Nor was the match unſuitable to the ſituation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chaſtity gained their affection; it delighted them to think, he would not approach the only woman he ever paſſionately loved, without the ſanction of marriage.

Hephæſtion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praiſed the Perſian faſhions, and dreſſed as he did; the latter adhered to the cuſtoms of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæſtion in his tranſactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to ſignify his pleaſure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, and the other more of his eſteem. He was perſuaded indeed, and he often ſaid, "Hephæſtion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king." Hence aroſe private animoſities, which did not fail to break out upon occaſion. One day, in India, they drew their ſwords, and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interpoſed. He told Hephæſtion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, not to be ſenſible, that "without his maſter's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus alſo a ſevere reprimand in private; and, after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he ſwore by Jupiter Ammon, and all the other gods, "That he loved them more than all the men in the world: "but if he perceived them at variance again, he would "put them both to death, or him at leaſt who began the "quarrel." This is ſaid to have had ſuch an effect upon them, that they never expreſſed any diſlike to each other, even in jeſt, afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, had great authority. For he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, or had a greater ſpirit of generoſity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requeſted a ſum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The ſteward ſaid, he had it not to give. "What," ſays Philotas, "haſt "thou not plate, or ſome other moveable?" However, he affected an oſtentation of wealth, and a magnificence in his

his dreſs and table, that was above the condition of a ſubject. Beſides, the loftineſs of his port was altogether extravagant; not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it expoſed him both to hatred and ſuſpicion; inſomuch that Parmenio one day ſaid to him, "My ſon, be leſs." He had long been repreſented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damaſcus, with all its riches, was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives that were brought to the camp, there was a beautiful young woman, called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to the ſhare of Philotas. Like a young ſoldier with a favourite miſtreſs, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiſcreet things eſcape him; attributing all the great actions of the war to himſelf and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman told theſe things in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned them to another. At laſt they came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as uſual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he ſaid. Philotas, ignorant of the ſnares that were laid for him, converſed with the woman without the leaſt reſerve, and, either in his reſentment or pride, uttered many unbecoming things againſt Alexander. That prince, though he had ſufficient proof againſt Philotas, kept the matter private, and diſcovered no tokens of averſion; whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or whether he was afraid of the power and intereſt of the family.

About this time, a Macedonian, named * Limnus, a native of Chalæſtra, conſpired againſt Alexander's life, and communicated his deſign to one Nicomachus, a youth that he was fond of; deſiring him to take a part in the enterpriſe. Nicomachus, inſtead of embracing the propoſal, informed his brother † Balinus of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and deſired him to introduce

* It ſhould undoubtedly be read *Dymnus*, as Q. Curtius and Diodorus have it. Nothing is eaſier than for a tranſcriber to change the Δ into a Λ.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Cebalinus*.

duce them to Alexander; assuring him it was upon business of great importance. Whatever might be his reason (for it it not known) Philotas refused them admittance, on pretence that Alexander had other great engagements then upon his hands. They applied again, and met with a denial. By this time they entertained some suspicion of Philotas, and addressed themselves to Metron *, who introduced them to the king immediately. They informed him first of the conspiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their suspicions of Philotas, on account of his rejecting two several applications.

Alexander was incensed at this negligence; and when he found that the person who was sent to arrest Limnus, had † killed him because he stood upon his defence and refused to be taken, it disturbed him still more, to think he had lost the means of discovering his accomplices. His resentment against Philotas, gave opportunity to those who had long hated that officer, to avow their dislike, and to declare how much the king was to blame in suffering himself to be so easily imposed upon, as to think that Limnus, an insignificant Chalæstrean, durst engage, of his own accord, in such a bold design. "No doubt," said they, "he "was the agent, or rather the instrument, of some superior hand; and the king should trace out the source "of the conspiracy among those who have the most interest in having it concealed."

As he began to listen to these discourses, and to give way to his suspicions, it brought innumerable accusations against Philotas, some of them very groundless. He was apprehended, and put to the torture, in presence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himself behind the tapestry, to hear the examination; and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himself in such a lamentable manner, and had recourse to such mean supplications to Hephæstion, he is reported to have said, "O Philotas, "durst thou, with all this unmanly weakness, embark in "so great and hazardous an enterprise?"

After

* In the printed text it is ἕτερον; but one of the manuscripts gives us Μετρωνα, which agrees with Curtius. Some name seems to be wanting, and Metron was a considerable office of the king's household, master of the wardrobe.

† Others say, he killed himself.

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately sent orders into Media that Parmenio should be put to death; a man who had a share in most of Philip's conquests; and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counsellors, who put Alexander upon his expedition into Asia. Of three sons whom he took over with him, he had seen two slain in battle, and with the third he fell a sacrifice himself. These proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, sent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They had something to fear from Alexander, as well as he; for they had sacked the city of the Oeniades; and when the king was informed of it, he said, "The children of the Oeniades need not revenge their "cause; I will punish the Ætolians myself."

Soon after this happened the affair of Clitus, which, however simply related, is much more shocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we reflect on the occasion and circumstance of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune, rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication, only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner: The king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, and as he greatly admired its freshness and beauty, he desired Clitus to see it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep on which the libation was already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted his soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they assured him it was a very bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather, because three days before he had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. However, before the sacrifice was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older

part

part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer; but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well done, to make a "jest, and that among barbarians and enemies, of Macedonians that were much better men than the laughters, "though they had met with a misfortune." Alexander made answer, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, "when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Then Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it was this cowar-"dice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when you "were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It "is by the blood of the Macedonians and these wounds "that you are grown so great, that you disdain to ac-"knowledge Philip for your father, and will needs pass "yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is in "this villanous manner thou talkest of me in all com-"panies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny; "but dost thou think to enjoy it long?" "And what do "we enjoy now?" said Clitus, "what reward have we "for all our toils? Do we not envy those who did not live "to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to "Persians for access to their king?" While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, "Do not the Greeks appear to you among "the Macedonians like demi-gods among so many wild "beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander "to speak out what he had to say, or not "to invite freemen to his table, who would declare their "sentiments without reserve. But perhaps," continued he, "it were better to pass your life with barbarians and "slaves, who will worship your Persian girdle and white "robe without scruple."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes*, one of his guards, had taken it away

* Q. Curtius and Arrian call him Aristonus.

in time, and the company gathered about him, and intreated him to be quiet. Their remonſtrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out, in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the ſignal of a great tumult. At the ſame time he ordered the trumpeter to ſound, and ſtruck him with his fiſt, upon his diſcovering an unwillingneſs to obey. This man was afterwards held in great eſteem, becauſe he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the leaſt ſubmiſſion, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room. But he ſoon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and diſreſpectful tone, thoſe verſes from the Andromache of Euripides.

> Are theſe your cuſtoms? Is it thus that Greece
> Rewards her combatants? * Shall one man claim
> The trophies won by thouſands?

Then Alexander ſnatched a ſpear from one of the guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body. He fell immediately to the ground, and with a diſmal groan expired.

Alexander's rage ſubſided in a moment; he came to himſelf; and ſeeing his friends ſtanding in ſilent aſtoniſhment by him, he haſtily drew the ſpear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards ſeized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He paſſed that night and the next day in anguiſh inexpreſſible; and when he had waſted himſelf with tears and lamentations, he lay in ſpeechleſs grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy ſilence, forced themſelves into the room, and attempted to conſole him. But he would liſten to none of them, except Ariſtander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the ſheep, and aſſured him, that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he ſeemed a little comforted, Calliſthenes the philoſopher, Ariſtotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in †. Calliſthenes began in a ſoft and tender manner, endeavouring

* This is the ſpeech of Peleus to Menelaus.

† Calliſthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Ariſtotle, whoſe relation he was. He had too

deavouring to relieve him without searching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in science with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander upon whom the whole world have their eyes? "Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying "like a slave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men, "to whom he should himself be a law, and the measure "of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to "rule and to command, not servilely to submit to the "vain opinions of men: Know you not," continued he, "that Jupiter is represented with Themis and Justice by "his side, to show, that whatever is done by * supreme "power is right?" By this, and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him, withal, more haughty and unjust. At the same time, he insinuated himself into his favour in so extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was not very agreeable, on account of his austerity.

One day, a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes held with those who asserted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more severe, than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obstinacy. Upon which Callisthenes said, "You must "needs acknowledge, my friend, that this is much the "colder; for there you went in winter in one cloak, and "here you cannot sit at table without three housing co-"verlets one over another." This stroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was said to be the cause of his going to Alexander, namely, an

 ambition

too much of the spirit of liberty to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance. Aristotle forewarned him, that if he went on to treat the king with the freedom which his spirit prompted, it would one day be fatal to him.

* Ὠκυμόρος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι ἐν ἀγαρεύεις.

"Short date of life, my son, these words forebode."

ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to re-people the * place of his nativity. His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy; and he gave some room for calumny himself, by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by sitting solemn and silent; which showed that he could neither commend, nor was satisfied with what passed: Insomuch that Alexander said to him one day,

——————— I hate the sage
Who reaps no fruits of wisdom to himself.

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was desired to pronounce an elogium upon the Macedonians extempore, which he did with so much eloquence, that the guests, beside their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this, Alexander said, in the words of Euripides,

When great the theme, 'tis easy to excel.

"But show us now," continued he, "the power of your "rhetoric in speaking against the Macedonians, that they "may see their faults and amend."

Then the orator took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he showed to be the only cause of the great increase of Philip's power; concluding with these words,

Amidst sedition's waves
The worst of mortals may emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander said, "He gave not, in "this case, a specimen of his eloquence, but of his malevolence."

Hermippus assures us, that Stroibus, a person employed by Callisthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle. He adds, that Callisthenes, perceiving

* Olynthus was one of the cities destroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philosopher to re-establish it is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that, in his time, it was a flourishing place. *Vid. Or.* iii. *in* Verrem.

ing the king's aversion to him, repeated this verse two or three times at parting:

Patroclus, thy superior is no more.

It was not, therefore, without reason, that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, "His eloquence, indeed, is great, but "he wants common sense." He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration, but stood forth singly, and uttered in public many grievances which the best and oldest of the Macedonians durst not reflect upon but in secret, though they were as much displeased at them as he. By preventing the prostration, he saved the Greeks, indeed, from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a greater; but he ruined himself; because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no sooner received it than he rose up, and turning towards the hearth*, where stood the domestic gods, to drink, he worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place again at the table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to mind him. But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Receive not his kiss; for he alone has not "adored you." Upon which, Alexander refused it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return one kiss the "poorer."

A coldness, of course, ensued: but many other things contributed to his fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised him to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place, Lysimachus and Agnon attacked him, and said, "The sophist went about with as much pride as if he

* Dacier is of opinion, that, by this action, the flatterers wanted to insinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domestic gods. But, as the king sat in that part of the room where the *Penates* were, we rather think it was a vile excuse to the man's own conscience for this act of religious worship, because their position made it dubious, whether it was intended for Alexander or for them.

" had demoliſhed a tyranny, and the young men followed " him, as the only freeman among ſo many thouſands." Theſe things, upon the diſcovery of Hermolaus's plot againſt Alexander, gave an air of probability to what was alleged againſt Calliſthenes. His enemies ſaid, Hermolaus inquired of him, " By what means he might become " the moſt famous man in the world," and that he anſwered, " By killing the moſt famous." They farther aſſerted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him " not be afraid of the golden bed, but re- " member he had to do with a man who had ſuffered both " by ſickneſs and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices, made any mention of Calliſthenes amidſt the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himſelf, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus and Alcetas, writes, " That the young men, when " put to the torture, declared, it was entirely their own " enterpriſe, and that no man beſides was privy to it." Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms that Calliſthenes was as guilty as the reſt. " The Macedonians," ſays he, " have ſtoned the young men to death. As for " the ſophiſt, I will puniſh him myſelf, and thoſe that ſent " him, too: Nor ſhall the towns that harboured the " conſpirators eſcape." In which he plainly diſcovers his averſion to Ariſtotle, by whom Calliſthenes was brought up as a relation; for he was the ſon of Hero, Ariſtotle's niece. His death is variouſly related. Some ſay, Alexander ordered him to be hanged; others, that he fell ſick and died in chains. And Chares writes, that he was kept ſeven months in priſon, in order to be tried in full council in the preſence of Ariſtotle; but that he died of exceſſive corpulency and the louſy diſeaſe, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India. This happened, however, at a later period than that we are upon.

In the mean time, Demeratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to ſee Alexander. Accordingly he took the voyage, and when he beheld him, he ſaid, " The Greeks fell ſhort of a great " pleaſure, who did not live to ſee Alexander upon the " throne of Darius." But he did not live to enjoy the king's

king's friendship. He sickened and died soon after. The king, however, performed his obsequies in the most magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth of great extent, and fourscore cubits high. His ashes were carried to the sea-shore in a chariot and four, with the richest ornaments.

When Alexander was upon the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils, that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends; and then gave orders that the rest should be served in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take, than it was to execute. Few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in need, and burnt or destroyed whatever was superfluous. This greatly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his design. Besides, by this time he was become inflexibly severe in punishing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death, for refusing to stay in a fortress he had given him the charge of; and one of the barbarians, named Osodates, he shot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

About this time a sheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a *tiara* upon its head, on each side of which were testicles. Looking upon the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldeans, who attended him for such purposes, to purify him by their expiations. He told his friends, on this occasion, "That he was more "troubled on their account than his own; for he was "afraid that after his death fortune would throw the em-"pire into the hands of some obscure and weak man." A better omen, however, soon dissipated his fears. A Macedonian, named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening * the ground by the river Oxus, in order to pitch his master's tent, discovered a spring of a gross oily liquor; which, after the surface was taken off, became perfectly clear, and neither in taste nor smell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in smoothness and

* Strabo (lib. ii.) ascribes the same properties to the ground near the river Ochus. Indeed, the Ochus and the Oxus unite their streams, and flow together into the Caspian sea.

brightness, though there was no olives in that country. It is said, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of so unctuous a quality, that it makes the skins of those who bathe in it smooth and shining *.

It appears, from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was greatly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it one of the happiest presages the gods had afforded him. The soothsayers said, it betokned, that the expedition would prove a glorious one, but at the same time laborious and difficult, because heaven has given men oil to refresh them after their labours. Accordingly he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very considerable wounds. But his army suffered most by want of necessaries and by the climate. For his part, he was ambitious to show that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: He thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the † bold. Pursuant to this opinion, when he besieged Sisimethres upon a ‡ rock extremly steep and apparently inaccessible, and saw his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether Sisimethres were "a man of spirit?" And being answered, "That he was "timorous and dastardly," he said, "You inform me the "rock may be taken, since there is no strength in its de-"fender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

In the siege of another fort, situated in a place equally steep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the assault there was one called Alexander; and the king took occasion to say to him, "You must behave gallantly, "my friend, to do justice to your name." He was informed

* Pliny tells us, that the surface of these rivers was a consistence of salt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a crust of ice, The salt consistence he imputes to the defluctions from the neighbouring mountains, but he says nothing of the unctuous quality of these waters mentioned by Plutarch. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi.

† One of the manuscripts, instead of εὐτόλμοις, has ἀτόλμοις. Then the latter member of the sentence would be, *nor secure to the timorous*.

‡ This strong hold was situated in Bactriana. Strabo says, it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred cattle. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

formed afterwards that the young man fell as he was distinguishing himself in a glorious manner, and he laid it much to heart.

When he sat down before Nysa *, the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed its walls, till Alexander said, "What a wretch am I, that I did not learn to swim," and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, ambassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them were deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour, without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased, when he bade the oldest of the ambassadors, named Acuphis, take the sofa that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked what they must do to be admitted into his friendship? Alexander answered, "It must be on condition that they appoint you their governor, and send me an hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said, "I should govern better, if you would take the worst, instead of the best."

It is said †, the dominions of Taxilus, in India, were as large as Egypt: They afforded excellent pasturage too, and were the most fertile in all respects. As he was a man of great prudence, he waited on Alexander, and after the first compliments, thus addressed him: "What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessaries of life; the only thing that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold and silver, and other possessions, if I am richer than you, I am willing to oblige you with part: If am poorer, I have no objection to sharing in your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived, if you do. I will dispute it with you to the last, but it shall be in favours and benefits;

* Arrian calls it Nysa; so indeed does the Vatican MS. That historian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionysus, or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dionysiopolis. It is now called Nerg.

† Between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

"for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink "to you, Taxiles, and as sure as you pledge me, you shall "have a thousand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away such immense sums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The most warlike of the Indians used to fight for pay. Upon this invasion they defended the cities that hired them, with great vigour, and Alexander suffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet seized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the sword. This is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king *.

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reason he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them, the river Hydaspes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy, with their heads towards the stream, to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians, being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm †. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry, and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river, at some distance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a most violent

* It was just and lawful, it seems, to go about harassing and destroying those nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians, when they entered Italy, namely, that the weak must submit to the strong. Indeed, those barbarians were much honester men, for they had another, and a better plea; they went to seek bread.

† The Latin and French translators have both mistaken the sense of this passage—Ἐβοήθουν τοῖς βαρβάροις μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, is certainly capable of the sense we have given it, and the context requires it should be so understood. See Arrian, (l. v. Ed. St. p. 108. A. and B.) in support of that construction. See also Q. Curtius, l. viii, p. 263. Ed. Am-

violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. But, notwithſtanding this hurricane, in which he ſaw ſeveral of his men periſh by the lightning, he advanced from the iſland to the oppoſite bank. The Hydaſpes, ſwelled with the rain, by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that ſide, which received water enough to form a bay, ſo that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely ſlippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occaſion he is ſaid to have uttered that celebrated ſaying, "Will you "believe," my Athenian friends, "what dangers I undergo, "to have you the heralds of my fame?" The laſt particular we have from Oneſicritus: But Alexander himſelf only ſays, they quitted their boats, and, armed as they were, waded up the breach breaſt high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horſe twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding, that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he ſhould be greatly their ſuperior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiſs. The enemy detached againſt him a thouſand horſe and ſixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with eaſe. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the ſpot. By this, Porus underſtood that Alexander himſelf had paſſed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared neceſſary to keep the reſt of the Macedonians from making good their paſſage. Alexander conſidering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's ſuperior numbers, did not chooſe to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himſelf, while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind; but maintained with ſuch obſtinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This deſcription of the battle we have from the conqueror himſelf, in one of his epiſtles.

Moſt hiſtorians agree, that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largeſt, his ſtature and bulk were ſuch, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his ſagacity and care of the king's perſon. As long as that

prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his probosicis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he desired to be treated?" He answered, "Like "a king." "And have you nothing else to request," replied Alexander. "No," said he, "every thing is "comprehended in the word king." Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand * considerable cities, and villages in proportion, he bestowed it on Porus. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. This is the account most writers give us: But Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander showed as much regret, as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion. He esteemed him, indeed, as such; and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called, after him, Bucephalia. He is also reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and was very fond of. This particular, Sotio says, he had from Potamo of Lesbos.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that they should pass the

* Some transcriber seems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities. Arrian's account of this: "He took thirty-seven cities, the least of which contained five thou-"sand inhabitants, and several of them above ten thousand. He took "also a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, "and gave the government of the country to Porus."

the * Ganges, which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathoms. The oppoſite ſhore too was covered with numbers of ſquadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandarites and Præſians were ſaid to be waiting for them there, with eighty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, eight thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand elephants, trained to war. Nor is this number at all magnified: For Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a preſent of † five hundred elephants at one time, and with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men traverſed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refuſal were ſuch, that at firſt he ſhut himſelf up in his tent, and lay proſtrate on the ground, declaring, "He did not thank "the Macedonians in the leaſt for what they had done, if "they would not paſs the Ganges; for he conſidered a "retreat as no other than an acknowledgment that he "was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him; and at laſt their remonſtrances, together with the cries and tears of the ſoldiers, who were ſuppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he firſt contrived many vain and ſophiſtical things to ſerve the purpoſes of fame; among which were arms much bigger than his men could uſe, and higher mangers, and heavier bits than his horſes required, left ſcattered up and down. He built alſo great altars, for which the Præſians ſtill retain much veneration, and their kings croſs the Ganges every year to offer ſacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a ſight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often ſaid afterwards, "That Alexander was within a little of making "himſelf maſter of all the country; with ſuch hatred "and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on "account of this profligacy of manners, and meanneſs of "birth."

Alexander in his march from thence, formed a deſign to ſee the ocean; for which purpoſe he cauſed a number of

* The Ganges is the largeſt of all the rivers in the three continents, the Indus the ſecond, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth.

† Dacier ſays *five thouſand*, but does not mention his authority. Perhaps it was only a ſlip in the writing, or in the printing.

of row-boats and rafts to be conſtructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leiſure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hoſtilities. He made ſeveral deſcents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to ſubmit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the moſt warlike people in India. He had driven ſome of them from the wall with his miſſive weapons, and was the firſt man that aſcended it. But preſently after he was up, the ſcaling ladder broke. Finding himſelf * and his ſmall company much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poiſed himſelf, and leaped down into the midſt of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the barbarians were ſo aſtoniſhed at the flaſhing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning, or ſome ſupernatural ſplendour iſſuing from his body. At firſt, therefore, they drew back and diſperſed. But when they had recollected themſelves, and ſaw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their ſwords and ſpears, notwithſtanding the valour with which he fought. One of them ſtanding farther off, drew an arrow with ſuch ſtrength, that it made its way through his cuiraſs, and entered the ribs under the breaſt. Its force was ſo great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn ſcimitar to diſpatch him. Peuceſtas and † Limnæus placed themſelves before him, but the one was wounded and the other killed. Peuceſtas, who ſurvived, was ſtill making ſome reſiſtance, when Alexander recovered himſelf and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at laſt had ſuch a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to ſupport himſelf by the wall, and there ſtood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His ſenſes were gone, and it was the current report in the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty, ſawed off the ſhaft, which was of wood, and with equal

* The word ολιγος implies, that he was not quite alone; and it appears immediately after that he was not.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Timæus*.

equal trouble had taken off the cuiraſs, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad and four long, and ſtuck faſt in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himſelf. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himſelf to a regular diet, attending ſolely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be ſo long deprived of the ſight of their king: they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but as ſoon as he had ſacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his deſtination, though * carried in a litter by the water ſide, he ſubdued a large track of land, and many reſpectable cities.

In the courſe of this expedition, he took ten of the *Gymnoſophiſts* †, who had been principally concerned in inſtigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberleſs other troubles upon the Macedonians. As theſe ten were reckoned the moſt acute and conciſe in their anſwers, he put the moſt difficult queſtions to them that could be thought of, and at the ſame time declared he would put the firſt perſon that anſwered wrong to death, and after him all the reſt. The oldeſt man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the firſt, "Which were moſt numerous, "the living or the dead?" He anſwered, "The living; "for the dead no longer exiſt ‡."

The ſecond was aſked, "Whether the earth or the ſea "produced the largeſt animals?" He anſwered, "The "earth; for the ſea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftieſt of all animals?" "That," ſaid he, "with which man is not yet acquainted ‖."

The

* παρεκομίζετο.

† Theſe philoſophers, ſo called from their going naked, were divided into two ſects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were moſt eſteemed, becauſe there was a conſiſtency in their principles. Apuleius tells us, that not only the ſcholars, but the younger pupils, were aſſembled about dinner time, and examined what good they had done that day; and ſuch as could not point out ſome act of humanity, or uſeful purſuit, that they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

‡ They did not hold the mortality, but the tranſmigration of the ſoul.

‖ This we ſuppoſe to mean man himſelf, as not being acquainted with himſelf.

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading Sub-
"bas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I wished him
"either to live with honour, or to die * as a coward de-
"serves."

The fifth had this question put to him, "Which do you
"think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered,
"The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised
at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse que-
"stions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded,
"What were the best means for a man to make himself
"loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power,
"do not make yourself feared."

The seventh was asked, "How a man might become
"a god?" He answered, "By doing what is impossible
"for man to do."

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?"
"Life," said he, "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long is it good
"for a man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher,
"as he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give
sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion, they have
"all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy
"judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first."
"No," replied the philosopher; "not except you choose
"to break your word: for you declared the man that an-
"swered worst should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them.
After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes,
to the other Indian sages who were of most reputation,
and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him.
Onesicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great inso-
lence and harshness, bidding him strip himself naked, if
he desired to hear any of his doctrine: "You should not
"hear

* One of the manuscripts gives us καλως here, instead of κακως.
Then the sense will be, "Because I wished him either to live or die
"with honour." Which we cannot but prefer; for he who has re-
gard enough for a man to wish him to live with honour, cannot be so
envious as to wish him to die with dishonour. At the same time we
agree with Moses Du Soul, that some archness is intended in most of
the answers; but what archness is there in this, as it is commonly trans-
lated, *Because I wished him either to live honourably, or to die miserably.*

"hear me on any other condition," said he, "though you "came from Jupiter himself." Dandamis behaved with more civility; and when Onesicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he said, "They appeared to him to have been men of genius, but "to have lived with too passive a regard to the laws."

Others say, Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only asked, "Why Alexander had taken "so long a journey?" As to Calanus, it is certain Taxiles prevailed with him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because he addressed them with the word *Cale*, which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greek called him Calanus. This philosopher, we are told, presented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dry and shriveled hide before him, and first trode upon the edges of it. This he did all around; and as he trode on one side, it started up on the other. At last he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he showed him, that he should fix his residence, and plant his principal force, in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander spent seven months in sailing down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he called * Scillustis, but others call it Pilumnis. There he landed, and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought Heaven, "That no man might ever reach beyond "the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Violent distempers, ill diet, and excessive heats destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages: for it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist

* Arrian calls it Cilluta. Here they first observed the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which surprised them not a little.

subsist on but a few bad sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea; consequently they were poor, and their flesh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, and then arrived in Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for besides that the land is fertile in itself, the neighbouring princes and grandees supplied him. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carmania for seven days in a kind of Bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees fresh gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear; but, instead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other, some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clasionets and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed * with a very immodest figure, and with all the licentious ribbaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of † Gedrosia, he gave his army time to refresh themselves again, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these, in which the choruses disputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favorite Bagoas happening to win it, crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The Macedonians

* M. le Fevre (in his notes upon Anacreon) seems to have restored the genuine reading of this passage, by proposing to read, instead of ταις φιαλαις, ὁ Φαλης, or Φαλλος

† Gedrosia is certainly corrupt. Probably we should read Carmania Βασιλειον signifies a capital city, as well as a royal palace, because princes generally reside in their capitals.

Macedonians expreſſed their ſatisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiſs him, with which at laſt he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was ſo much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a deſign to ſail in perſon from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coaſt of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the pillars of Hercules. For this purpoſe, he conſtructed, at Thapſacus, a number of veſſels of all ſorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loſs of men, in the country of the Orites, and the ſuppoſition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new ſubjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon diſplaying their injuſtice, inſolence, and avarice. In ſhort, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguing againſt Antipater, had ſeized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia. The tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he ſaid, "His mother had conſidered right; for the Macedonians would never bear to be governed by a woman."

In conſequence of this unſettled ſtate of things, he ſent Nearchus again to ſea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in perſon to chaſtiſe his lieutenants for their miſdemeanours. Oxyartes, one of the ſons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a ſtroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no proviſions for him; he had only collected three thouſand talents in money. Upon his preſenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horſes; and as they did not touch it, he ſaid, "Of what uſe will this proviſion now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into cuſtody.

The firſt thing he did after he entered Perſia, was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient cuſtom of the kings, who, upon their return from any excurſion to their Perſian dominions, uſed to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reaſon, ſeveral of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but ſeldom; and Ochus never did; He baniſhed himſelf to ſave his money.

Having

Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows: O MAN, WHOSOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENCESOEVER THOU COMEST, (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT), I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. ENVY ME NOT THE LITTLE EARTH THAT COVERS MY BODY. Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him, in so strong a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been disordered a little while with the cholic, desired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to Heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair *, and threw it into the fire; and before he ascended the pile, took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king: "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little time "at Babylon." So saying, he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Nor did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice according to the custom of the sages of his country. Many years after, another Indian did the same before Augustus Cæsar at Athens, whose tomb is shown to this day, and called *the* Indian's *tomb*.

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to supper, and, to give life to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most should be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four † measures of wine, and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares tells us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather coming upon them extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality.

As

* As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims.

† About fourteen quarts. The *choeus* was six pints nine-tenths.

As for those Macedonians who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is said, that no less than nine thousand guests sat down, and yet he presented each with a golden cup, for performing the libation. Every thing else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; insomuch that the whole expence amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

An officer who had but one eye, named Antigenes, put himself upon this list of debtors, and produced a person who declared he was so much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but afterwards discovering the fraud, in his anger forbade him the court, and took away his commission. There was no fault to be found with him as a soldier. He had distinguished himself in his youth under Philip, at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart shot from one of the engines; and yet he would neither suffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. The poor wretch could not bear the disgrace he had now brought upon himself; his grief and despair were so great, that it was apprehended he would put an end to his own life. To prevent such a catastrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome in appearance; and, what was of more importance, had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians; they were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the sea, in order to their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure: "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all reason, of their services, "and now he sends them back with disgrace, and turns "them upon the hands of their country and their parents, "in a very different condition from that in which he received them. Why does not he dismiss us all? Why "does not he reckon all the Macedonians incapable of "service, now he has got this body of young dancers. "Let him go with them, and conquer the world."

Alexander

Alexander, incenſed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Perſians for his gaurds, and filled up other offices with them. When they ſaw their king with theſe new attendants, and themſelves rejected and ſpurned with diſhonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almoſt frantic with jealouſy and anger. At laſt, coming to themſelves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themſelves up to his vengeance; deſiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deſerved.

He was ſoftened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They ſtood two days and nights bemoaning themſelves in this manner, and calling for their dear maſter. The third day he came out to them; and when he ſaw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their miſbehaviour, he condeſcended to converſe with them in a freer manner; and ſuch as were unfit for ſervice, he ſent over with magnificent preſents. At the ſame time he ſignified his pleaſure to Antipater, that at all public diverſions they ſhould have the moſt honourable ſeats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there; and that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in the ſervice ſhould have their fathers pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had diſpatched the moſt urgent affairs, he employed himſelf again in the celebration of games and other public ſolemnities, for which purpoſe three thouſand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very ſerviceable to him. But unfortunately Hephæſtion fell ſick of a fever in the midſt of this feſtivity. As a young man and a ſoldier, he could not bear to be kept to ſtrict diet; and taking the opportunity to dine when his phyſician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he eat a roaſted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as poſſible; in conſequence of which, he grew worſe, and died in a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occaſion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horſes and mules to be ſhorn, that they might have their ſhare in the mourning, and with the ſame view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor phyſician he crucified. He forbade

bade the flute and all other music in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demi-god. After this he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war, for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cossæans, and put all that were come to years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to the *manes* of Hephæstion.

He designed to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanship, as well as design, should exceed the expence, great as it was. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was most capable of being cut into a human figure; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world: A statue, which should have a city with ten thousand inhabitants in its left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in its right. He did not, however, embrace that proposal, though at that time he busied himself with his architects in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared he had been applied to by some Chaldæans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon. But he slighted the warning and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed, that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the diviner; and, as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head. "A terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity: But by this time he was sorry he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himself with sail-

ing

ing up and down the Euphrates. For there had happened several other ill omens that much disturbed him. One of the largest and handsomest lions that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. One day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball: After the diversion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man sitting in profound silence on his throne, dressed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would answer. At last, coming to himself, he said, "My name is Dionysius, "and I am a native of Messene. Upon a criminal pro- "cess against me, I left the place, and embarked for Ba- "bylon. There I have been kept a long time in chains. "But this day the god Serapis appeared to me, and broke "my chains; after which he conducted me hither, and "ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and sit here "in silence."

After the man had thus explained himself, Alexander, by the advice of his soothsayers, put him to death. But the anguish of his mind increased; on one hand, he almost despaired of the succours of heaven, and, on the other, distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons; one of which, named Iolaus *, was his cup-bearer; the other, named Cassander, was lately arrived from Macedonia; and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners, and a stranger to such a sight, he burst out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers; which greatly irritated the king. "What is "this talk of thine?" said he. "Dost thou think that "men who had suffered no injury, would come so far "to bring a false charge?" "Their coming so far," replied Cassander, "is an argument that the charge is false, be- "cause they are at a distance from those who are able to "contradict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which make "equally

* Arrian and Curtius call him *Iollas*. Plutarch calls him *Iolas* below.

"equally for either side of the question. But be assured "I will make you repent it, if these men have had the "least injustice done them."

This, and other menaces, left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and master of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with such horror, that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddiness it caused in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himself up to superstition, his mind was so preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident which was any thing strange and out of the way, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrifices, purifiers, and prognosticators; they were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that though the disbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil; yet superstition is a greater. For, as * water gains upon low grounds, so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hephæstion from the god he commonly consulted, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath, in order to retire to rest. But in the mean time Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not, however, seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affect-

* The text in this place is corrupt. For the sake of those readers who have not Bryan's edition of the Greek, we shall give the emendation which the learned Moses du Soul proposes—— ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, δίκην ὕδατος, αει προς τὸ ταπεινουμενοι και ΚΑΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΡΕΟΥΣΑ, αβελτηριας και φοβου τον Αλεξανδρον ΑΝΕΠΛΗΡΟΥ.

ing and extraordinary. Ariſtobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirſt, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month *Dæſius*, *June*.

But in his journals, the account of his ſickneſs is as follows. "On the eighteenth of the month Dæſius, finding "the fever upon him, he lay in his bath room. The "next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his "own chamber, and played many hours with Medius at "dice. In the evening he bathed again, and after having "ſacrificed to the gods, he eat his ſupper. In the night "the fever returned. The twentieth he alſo bathed, and "after the cuſtomary ſacrifice, ſat in the bath-room, and "diverted himſelf with hearing Nearchus tell the ſtory of "his voyage, and all that was moſt obſervable with re"ſpect to the ocean. The twenty-firſt was ſpent in the "ſame manner. The fever increaſed, and he had a very "bad night. The twenty-ſecond, the fever was violent. "He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the "great bath. There he talked to his generals about the "vacancies in his army, and deſired they might be filled "up with experienced officers. The twenty-fourth he "was much worſe. He choſe, however, to be carried to "aſſiſt at the ſacrifice. He likewiſe gave orders that the "principal officers of the army ſhould wait within the "court, and the others keep watch all night without. "The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace, on "the other ſide of the river, where he ſlept a little, but "the fever did not abate; and when his generals entered "the room he was ſpeechleſs. He continued ſo the day "following. The Macedonians, by this time, thinking "he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, "and threatened the great officers in ſuch a manner, that "they were forced to admit them, and ſuffer them all to "paſs unarmed by the bed-ſide. The twenty-ſeventh, "Python and Seleucus were ſent to the temple of Serapis, "to inquire whether they ſhould carry Alexander thither, "and the deity ordered that they ſhould not remove him. "The twenty-eight in the evening he died." Theſe particulars are taken almoſt word for word from his diary.

There was no ſuſpicion of poiſon at the time of his death; but ſix years after (we are told), Olympias, upon ſome

ſome information, put a number of people to death, and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was ſuppoſed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Thoſe who ſay Ariſtotle adviſed Antipater to ſuch a horrid deed, and furniſhed him with the poiſon he ſent to Babylon, allege one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus. They add, that the poiſon was a water of a cold * and deadly quality, which diſtils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it as they would do ſo many dew-drops, and keep it in an aſs's hoof; its extreme coldneſs and acrimony being ſuch, that it makes its way through all other veſſels. The generality, however look upon the ſtory of the poiſon as a mere fable; and they have this ſtrong argument in their favour, that though, on account of the diſputes which the great officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay † unembalmed in a ſultry place, it had no ſign of any ſuch taint, but continued freſh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, ſhe laid a ſnare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having, by this means, got her into her power, ſhe ſacrificed both her and her ſiſter, and threw their bodies into a well, which ſhe filled up with earth. Perdiccas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed he had now the principal power, which he exerciſed in the name of Aridæus, whom he treated rather as a ſcreen, than as a king.

Aridæus was the ſon of Philip by a courtezan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in underſtanding was the conſequence of a diſtemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any ſhare. For it is ſaid, there was ſomething amiable and great in him when a boy; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that diſturbed his brain ‡.

* Hence it was called the *Stygian Water*. Nonacris was a city of Arcadia.

† ἀδιαφθορον.

‡ Portraits of the ſame perſon, taken at different periods of life, though they differ greatly from each other, retain a reſemblance upon the whole. And ſo it is in general with the characters of men. But Alexander

JULIUS CÆSAR.

*When Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Rome, he endeavoured to bring Cæſar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna, one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears §, he confiſcated her dowry. Indeed Cæſar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæſar's aunt, and therefore young Marius the ſon he had by her, was Cæſar's couſin german. At firſt Sylla, amidſt the vaſt number of proſcriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæſar, not content with eſcaping ſo, preſented himſelf to the people as a ‡ candidate for the prieſthood, though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence againſt him, and he miſcarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when ſome ſaid there was no need to put ſuch a boy to death, he anſwered, "Their ſagacity was ſmall, if they did not in "that boy ſee many Mariuſes."

This ſaying being reported to Cæſar, he concealed himſelf a long time, wandering up and down in the country of

Alexander ſeems to be an exception: for nothing can admit of greater diſſimilarity than that which entered into his diſpoſition at different times, and in different circumſtances. He was brave and puſilanimous, merciful and cruel, modeſt and vain, abſtemious and luxurious, rational and ſuperſtitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Nor were theſe changes caſual or temporary: The ſtyle of his character underwent a total revolution, and he paſſed from virtue to vice in a regular and progreſſive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteriſtics that never forſook him. If there were any vice of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.

* Some imagine that the beginning of this Life is loſt; but if they look back to the Introduction to the Life of Alexander, that notion will vaniſh.

§ Cæſar would not make ſuch a ſacrifice to the dictator, as Piſo had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Annia. Pompey, too, for the ſake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antiſtia.

‡ Cæſar had the prieſthood before Sylla was dictator. In the ſeventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Coſſutia, though ſhe was of a conſular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, by whoſe intereſt, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Dialis*, or Prieſt of Jupiter. Sylla, when abſolute maſter of Rome, inſiſted on his divorcing Cornelia, and, upon his refuſal, deprived him of that office. SUETON. in Julio.

of the Sabines. Amidſt his movements from houſe to houſe he fell ſick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The ſoldiers employed by Sylla to ſearch thoſe parts, and drag the proſcribed perſons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded them, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then haſtened to ſea, and ſailed to Bithynia, where he ſought protection of Nicomedes the king. His ſtay, however, with him was not long. He reimbarked, and was taken, near the iſle of Pharmacuſa, by pirates, who were maſters of that ſea, and blocked up all the paſſages with a number of gallies and other veſſels. They aſked him, only twenty talents for his ranſom. He laughed at their demand, as the conſequence of their not knowing him, and promiſed them fifty talents. To raiſe the money, he diſpatched his people to different cities, and in the mean time remained with only one friend and two attendants among theſe Cilicians, who conſidered murder as a trifle. Cæſar, however, held them in great contempt, and uſed to ſend, whenever he went to ſleep, and order them to keep ſilence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearleſs and ſecure, he joined in their diverſions, and took his exerciſes among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearſed them to theſe pirates; and when they expreſſed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with theſe freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as ſoon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned ſome veſſels in the port of † Miletus, in order to attack theſe corſairs. He found them ſtill lying at anchor by the iſland, took moſt of them, together with the money, and impriſoned them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Aſia, becauſe to him, as prætor, it belonged to puniſh them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a conſiderable ſum, demurred about the matter; and Cæſar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the priſoners, as he had

† Dacier reads *Me'as*, which was one of the Cyclades, but does not mention his authority.

often threatened to do at Pharmacuſa, when they took him to be in jeſt.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæſar's friends preſſed him to return to Rome. But firſt he went to Rhodes, to ſtudy under Apollonius *, the ſon of Molo, who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero alſo was one of his ſcholars. Cæſar is ſaid to have had happy talents from nature for a public ſpeaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them; ſo that undoubtedly he was the ſecond orator in Rome; and he might have been the firſt, had he not rather choſen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never roſe to that pitch of eloquence to which his powers would have brought him, being engaged in thoſe wars and political intrigues, which at laſt gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterwards, in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in anſwer to a book of Cicero's, he deſired his readers "Not to expect in the "performance of a military man the ſtyle of a complete "orator, who had beſtowed all his time upon ſuch "ſtudies."

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for miſdemeanors in his government, and many cities of Greece ſupported the charge by their evidence. Dolabella

* It ſhould be *Apollonius Molo*, not Apollonius the ſon of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæſar had ſtudied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. Thus far Dacier; and Ruauld and other critics ſay the ſame. Yet Strabo (l. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661.) tells us, Molo and Apollonius were too different men. He affirms, that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both ſcholars of Menacles the Alabandian; and that they both profeſſed the ſame art at Rhodes, though Molo went thither later than Apollonius, who, on that account, applied to him that of Homer, Ὁψὲ Μόλων. Cicero likewiſe ſeems to diſtinguiſh them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, eſpecially in his firſt book *De Oratore*, where he introduces M. Antonius ſpeaking of him thus: "For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; "though he taught for money, he did not ſuffer any whom he thought "incapable of making a figure as orators, to loſe their time and labour "with him, but ſent them home, exhorting them to apply themſelves "to that art, for which they were, in his opinion, beſt qualified."

To ſolve this difficulty, we are willing to ſuppoſe, with Ruauld, that there were two Molo's, cotemporaries; for the teſtimonies of Suetonius (in Cæſare, c. 4) and of Quintilian (Inſtitut. l. xii. c. 6.) that Cæſar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be overruled.

bella was acquitted. Cæſar, however, in acknowledgment of the readineſs Greece had ſhown to ſerve him, aſſiſted her in her proſecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cauſe was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæſar pleaded it in ſo powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he ſhowed at Rome in defending perſons impeached, gained him a conſiderable intereſt, and his engaging addreſs and converſation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a condeſcenſion not to be expected from ſo young a man. At the ſame time, the freedom of his table, and the magnificence of his expence, gradually increaſed his power, and brought him into the adminiſtration. Thoſe who envied him, imagined that his reſources would ſoon fail, and therefore, at firſt, made light of his popularity, conſiderable as it was. But when it was grown to ſuch a height that it was ſcarce poſſible to demoliſh it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the conſtitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however ſmall, are to be neglected; becauſe continuance makes them great; and the very contempt they are held in, gives them opportunity to gain that ſtrength which cannot be reſiſted.

Cicero ſeems to be the firſt who ſuſpected ſomething formidable from the flattering calm of Cæſar's political conduct, and ſaw deep and dangerous deſigns under the ſmiles of his benignity. "I perceive," ſaid the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and exe-"cutes; but, on the other hand, when I ſee him adjuſt-"ing his hair with ſo much exactneſs, and ſcratching his "head with one finger, I can hardly think that ſuch a "man can conceive ſo vaſt and fatal a deſign, as the de-"ſtruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an obſervation made at a much later period than we are upon.

The firſt proof he had of the affection of the people, was when he obtained a tribuneſhip in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The ſecond was more remarkable: It was on occaſion of his pronouncing from the roſtrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do juſtice to her

virtue. At the ſame time he had the hardineſs to produce the images of Marius, which had not been ſeen before during Sylla's adminiſtration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the ſtate. Upon this ſome began to raiſe a clamour againſt Cæſar; but they were ſoon ſilenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expreſſing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after ſo long a ſuppreſſion, and raiſing them, as it were, from the ſhades below.

It had long been the cuſtom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæſar firſt broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people. They ſympathiſed with him, and conſidered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the ſocial duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæſtor into Spain with * Antiſtius Veter the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after; and when he came to be prætor himſelf, he acknowledged the favour by taking Veter's ſon for his quæſtor. When that commiſſion was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a daughter by his firſt wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who obſerved his prodigious expence, thought he was purchaſing a ſhort and tranſient honour very dear, but, in fact, he was gaining the greateſt things he could aſpire to, at a ſmall price. He is ſaid to have been a thouſand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the ſuperintendence of the Appian road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diverſions of the theatre, in the proceſſions and public tables, he far outſhone the moſt ambitious that had gone before him. Theſe things attached the people to him ſo ſtrongly, that every one ſought for new honours and employments, to recompenſe his generoſity.

There were two factions in the ſtate; that of Sylla, which was the ſtrongeſt, and that of Marius, which was in

* See Vell. Paterculus, ii. 43.

in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glistering with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared them the atchievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion. This, they said, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his careſſes, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them, and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partizans of Marius encouraging each other, ran to the capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the sight of Marius's countenance. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him was this memorable expression, "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well, that the senate gave it for him: And his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain every thing with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions, died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the senate. Nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of

the competitors ſeemed almoſt equal, and Catulus, more uneaſy than the others under the uncertainty of ſucceſs, on account of his ſuperior dignity, ſent privately to Cæſar, and offered him large ſums, on condition that he would deſiſt from his high purſuit. But he anſwered, "He would rather borrow ſtill larger ſums to carry his "election."

When the day of election came, Cæſar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and ſaid, "My dear mother, you will ſee "me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was any thing more ſtrongly conteſted; the ſuffrages, however, gave it for Cæſar. The ſenate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this ſucceſs; they apprehended that he would now puſh the people into all manner of licentiouſneſs and miſrule. Therefore, Piſo and Catulus blamed Cicero much for ſparing Cæſar, when Catiline's conſpiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whoſe intention was not ſo much to make alterations in the conſtitution, as entirely to ſubvert it, and throw all into confuſion, upon ſome ſlight ſuſpicions appearing againſt him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conſpiracy within the city.

Whether Cæſar privately encouraged and ſupported them, is uncertain: What is univerſally agreed upon, is this. The guilt of thoſe two conſpirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as conſul, took the ſenſe of the ſenators as to the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted upon them; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæſar's turn, who, in a ſtudied ſpeech, repreſented, "That it ſeemed "neither agreeable to juſtice, nor to the cuſtoms of their "country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death, "without an open trial, except in caſe of extreme neceſ"ſity. But that they ſhould rather be kept in priſon, in "any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, "till Catiline was ſubdued; and then the ſenate might "take cognizance of the crimes of each conſpirator in "full peace, and at their leiſure."

As there appeared ſomething humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, thoſe who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other ſide of the queſtion, came into it.

But

But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a ſevere ſpeech againſt the opinion of Cæſar, ſcrupled not to declare his ſuſpicions of *him;* and this, with other arguments, had ſo much weight, that the two conſpirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, as Cæſar was going out of the ſenate houſe, ſeveral of the young men, who guarded Cicero's perſon, ran upon him with their drawn ſwords; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and ſo carried him off; and that Cicero himſelf, when the young men looked at him for a nod of conſent, refuſed it, either out of fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the killing him unjuſt and unlawful. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the hiſtory of his conſulſhip. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himſelf of ſo good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed ſtrongly attached to Cæſar. For, a few days after, when Cæſar entered the ſenate, and endeavoured to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they ſat longer than uſual, the people beſet the houſe, and with violent outcries demanded Cæſar, abſolutely inſiſting on his being diſmiſſed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an inſurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremoſt in all ſeditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæſar, perſuaded the ſenate to order a diſtribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five million five hundred thouſand *drachmas* to the yearly expences of the ſtate *. This expedient certainly obviated the preſent danger, by ſeaſonably reducing the power of Cæſar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæſar's prætorſhip was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a diſagreeable event in his own family. There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune, and diſtinguiſhed eloquence, but at the ſame time one of the foremoſt among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a paſſion for Pompeia, Cæſar's wife, nor did ſhe diſcountenance it. But the women's apartment was ſo

* But this diſtribution did not continue long.

narrowly obſerved, and all the ſteps of Pompeia ſo much attended to by Aurelia, Cæſar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddeſſes the Romans worſhip, there is one they call *Bona Dea*, *the good goddeſs*, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea*, *the patroneſs of the women*. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans ſay, ſhe was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus; and the Greeks aſſure us, ſhe is the mother of Bacchus, whoſe name is not to be uttered. For this reaſon, the women, when they keep her feſtival, cover their tents with vine branches; and, according to the fable, a ſacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddeſs. No man is allowed to be preſent, nor even to be in the houſe, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themſelves, are ſaid to be like thoſe in the feaſts of Orpheus.

When the anniverſary of the feſtival comes, the conſul or prætor (for it is at the houſe of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife now having the houſe to herſelf, decorates it in a proper manner; the myſteries are performed in the night; and the whole is ſpent in muſic and play. Pompeia this year was the directreſs of the feaſt. Clodius, who was yet a beardleſs youth, thought he might paſs in woman's apparel undiſcovered, and having taken the garb and inſtruments of a female muſician, perfectly reſembled one. He found the door open, and was ſafely introduced by a maid ſervant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as ſhe ſtaid a conſiderable time, Clodius durſt not remain where ſhe left him, but wandered about the great houſe, endeavouring to avoid the lights. At laſt, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and ſuppoſing ſhe ſpoke to a woman, challenged him to play. Upon his refuſing it, ſhe drew him into the midſt of the room, and aſked him who he was, and whence he came? He ſaid, he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid; for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him: Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out ſhe had found a man in the houſe. The thing ſtruck them all with terror and aſtoniſhment. Aurelia put a ſtop to the ceremonies, and covered up the ſymbols of their myſterious worſhip. She ordered

ordered the doors to be made faſt, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. At length Clodius was found, lurking in the chamber of the maid-ſervant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the houſe; after which, they went home immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their huſbands of what had hapened.

Next morning the report of the ſacrilegious attempt ſpread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of, but that Clodius ought to make ſatisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city, and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal ſenators ſtrengthened the charge, by accuſing him to his face, of many villanous debaucheries; and, among the reſt, of inceſt with his own ſiſter, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themſelves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges, was of much ſervice to his cauſe. Cæſar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged againſt Clodius. As this declaration appeared ſomewhat ſtrange, the accuſer demanded, why, if that was the caſe, he had divorced his wife: "Becauſe," ſaid he, "I would have the "chaſtity of my wife clear even of ſuſpicion." Some ſay Cæſar's evidence was according to his conſcience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were ſet upon ſaving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius came off clear; moſt of the judges having confounded § the letters upon

§ Here it is συγκεχυμενας τοις πραγμασι τας γνωμας. M. Dacier would correct by this the paſſage in the life of Cicero, which is τας ολας συγκεχυμενας τοις γραμμασι. He tranſlates it, *la plûpart des juges ayant donné leurs avis ſur pluſieurs affaires en même tems; the greateſt part of the judges comprehending other cauſes along with this in their ſentence.* But that could not be the caſe; for that manner of paſſing ſentence, or rather of paſſing bills, was forbidden by the Lex Cæcilia et Didia. Beſides, it would not have anſwered the purpoſe: Their ſentence would have been equally known. We therefore rather chooſe to correct this paſſage by that in the Life of Cicero.

After the pleadings were finiſhed, the prætor gave each of the judges three tablets; one marked with the letter *A*, which acquitted, another with the letter *C*, which condemned, and a third with *N. L. Non Liquet*; *the caſe is not clear.* Each judge put into an urn which tablet he pleaſed: And as they withdrew to conſult before they did it, it was eaſy

upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians, if they condemned him, nor lose their credit with the patricians, if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain * was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship. But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any "contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambi-"tion as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I assure you I had "rather be the first man here, than the second man in "Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain, he bestowed some leisure hours on reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficint cause "for concern, when Alexander at my age reigned over so "many

easy to deface or obscure any letters upon the tablets, because they were only written in wax.

Still there occurs this objection, Would the prætor who was to count them, and pass sentence according to the majority, admit of tablets with letters so defaced or obscured? A corrupt one, indeed, might; and interpret them the way he was inclined. But as Plutarch does not say *obscured* but *συγχεχυμενας*, *confused*, possibly he only meant that the judges, instead of putting tablets all marked with the same letter, put in several of each kind, in order to prevent the displeasure of the senate or the people from fixing upon any of them in particular.

* It was the government of the farther Spain only that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica, that is, Portugal and Andalusia. Casaubon supposed the word *εκτος* to have slipt out of the text between *την* and *Ισπανιαν*; but it is not a matter of importance enough to alter the text for it.

"many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious "atchievement to boaſt?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to buſineſs with great diligence, and having added ten new raiſed cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched againſt the * Callæcians and Luſitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war; he reſtored harmony among the cities, and removed the occaſions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For he ordered that the creditor ſhould have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By theſe means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his ſoldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, ſaluted him *Imperator*.

At his return, he found himſelf under a troubleſome dilemma: Thoſe that ſolicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and ſuch as ſue for the conſulſhip, to make their perſonal appearance in Rome. As theſe were things that he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of conſuls, he applied to the ſenate for permiſſion to ſtand candidate, though abſent, and offer his ſervice by his friends. Cato ſtrongly oppoſed his requeſt, inſiſting on the prohibition by law; and when he ſaw numbers influenced by Cæſar, he attempted to prevent his ſucceſs by gaining time; with which view he ſpun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon any thing that day. Cæſar then determined to give up the triumph, and ſolicit the conſulſhip.

As ſoon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Craſſus, two of the moſt powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæſar ſecured the intereſt of both to himſelf; and while he ſeemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the conſtitution. For it was not, what moſt people imagine, the diſagreement between Cæſar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their

* In the text Καλλαϊκοὺς. Cruſerius renders it *Gallæcos*; but, according to Cellarius, he is under a miſtake.

their union. They first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and over-busy man; afterwards he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey, and under the auspices of their friendship was declared consul with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul, as to a seditious tribune; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted: He protested with great warmth, "That "they threw him into the arms of the people against his "will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of "the senate, laid him under the disagreeable necessity of "seeking protection from the Commons." Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, "Whether "they approved his laws?" and, as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him; and Pompey added, "Against "those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword "and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain: It appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still farther of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus the son of Sylla. Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings;

proceedings, and called both gods and men to witneſs, how unſupportable it was, that the firſt dignities of the ſtate ſhould be proſtituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women ſhould gain them what governments and forces they pleaſed.

As for Bibulus, Cæſar's colleague, when he found his oppoſition to their new laws entirely unſucceſsful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public aſſemblies, he ſhut himſelf up in his own houſe during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted, which Cæſar had propoſed merely to ingratiate himſelf with the people. At the ſame time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other ſide the Alps, was decreed to Cæſar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato ſpoke againſt theſe regulations, Cæſar ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he ſaw him going to priſon without ſpeaking one word, and obſerved that it not only gave the nobility great uneaſineſs, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy ſilence, he whiſpered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *lictors* hands.

Very few of the body of ſenators followed Cæſar on this occaſion to the houſe. The greateſt part, offended at ſuch acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Conſidius, one of the oldeſt ſenators that attended, taking occaſion to obſerve, "That it was the ſoldiers and naked ſwords that kept the "reſt from aſſembling." Cæſar ſaid, "Why does not fear "keep you at home, too?" Conſidius replied, "Old age "is my defence; the ſmall remains of my life deſerve not "much care or precaution."

The moſt diſgraceful ſtep, however, that Cæſar took in his whole conſulſhip, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the ſame who had attempted to diſhonour his bed, and had profaned the myſterious rites of the Good Goddeſs. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he ſet out for his government, before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's baniſhment. For hiſtory informs us, that all theſe tranſactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, repreſent

repreſent him as another man: We begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the leaſt inferior to the greateſt and moſt admired commanders the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipio's, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or thoſe who flouriſhed a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himſelf, whoſe fame in every military excellence reached the ſkies, Cæſar's atchievements bear away the palm. One he ſurpaſſed in the difficulty of the ſcene of action, another in the extent of the countries he ſubdued; this, in the number and ſtrength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the ſavage manners and treacherous diſpoſition of the people he humanized; one, in mildneſs and clemency to his priſoners, another, in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in leſs than ten years war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by aſſault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men; one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million priſoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his ſoldiers, and their attachment to his perſon, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common race of men, became invincible where Cæſar's glory was concerned, and met the moſt dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could reſiſt. To give three or four inſtances:

Acilius, in a ſea-fight near Marſeilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ſhips, had his right hand cut off with a ſword, yet he ſtill held his buckler in his left, and puſhed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the veſſel.

Caſſius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had an eye ſhot out with an arrow, his ſhoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received * a hundred and thirty darts upon his ſhield, called

* Cæſar (Bell. Civ. l. iii.) ſays this brave ſoldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his ſhield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thouſand feſterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the firſt. He likewiſe ordered the ſoldiers of that cohort double pay, beſide other military rewards.

called out to the enemy, as if he would surrender himself. Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword that the arm dropped off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his assistance, and he saved his life.

In Britain some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. After which, the soldier with much difficulty, partly by swimming, partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar, and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier in great distress threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and with tears in his eyes begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor, "He gave him his life." Petronius answered, "It is "not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take but to give "quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them. For his whole conduct showed, that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own, but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich, than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible, was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire an exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory; but they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far in all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject

ſubject to violent headachs and epileptic fits. He had the firſt attack of the falling ſickneſs at Corduba. He did not, however, make theſe diſorders a pretence for indulging himſelf. On the contrary, he ſought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to ſtrengthen his conſtitution by long marches, by ſimple diet, by ſeldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his diſtemper, and fortified himſelf againſt its attacks.

When he ſlept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that reſt might be no hindrance to buſineſs. In the day-time he viſited the caſtles, cities, and fortified camps, with a ſervant at his ſide, whom he employed, on ſuch occaſions, to write for him, and with a ſoldier behind, who carried his ſword. By theſe means he travelled ſo faſt, and with ſo little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his firſt ſetting out for thoſe parts from Rome.

He was a good horſeman in his early years, and brought that exerciſe to ſuch perfection by practice, that he could fit a horſe at full ſpeed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he alſo accuſtomed himſelf to dictate letters as he rode on horſeback, and found ſufficient employment for two ſecretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is alſo ſaid, that Cæſar was the firſt who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, who were in the ſame city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of buſineſs or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with reſpect to diet they give us this remarkable proof. Happening to ſup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, there was ſweet ointment poured upon the aſparagus, inſtead of oil. Cæſar eat of it freely notwithſtanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expreſſing their diſlike of it. "It was enough," ſaid he, "to forbear eating, if it was diſagreeable to you. He "who finds fault with any ruſticity, is himſelf a ruſtic."

One day, as he was upon an excurſion, a violent ſtorm forced him to ſeek ſhelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that ſcarce big enough for a man to ſleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he ſaid, "Honours for the great, and neceſſaries for the "infirm," and immediately gave up the room to Oppius, while

while himſelf and the reſt of the company ſleeped under a ſhed at the door.

His firſt expedition in Gaul was againſt the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who, after having burnt twelve of their own towns and four hundred villages, put themſelves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was ſubject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were theſe new adventurers inferior to the other in courage; and in numbers they were equal; being, in all three hundred thouſand, of which a hundred and ninety thouſand were fighting men. Cæſar ſent * his lieutenant, Labienus, againſt the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar. But the Helvetians ſuddenly attack Cæſar, as he was upon the march to † a confederate town. He gained, however, a ſtrong poſt for his troops, notwithſtanding the ſurpriſe; and when he had drawn them up, his horſe was brought him. Upon which he ſaid, "When I have won "the battle, I ſhall want my horſe for the purſuit; at pre-"ſent let us march, as we are, againſt the enemy." Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot ‡.

It coſt him a long and ſevere conflict to drive their army out of the field; but he found the greateſt difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a moſt obſtinate ſtand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces; inſomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action he added a ſtill greater. He collected the barbarians who had eſcaped out of the battle, to the number of an hundred thouſand, and upwards, and obliged them to reſettle the country they had relinquiſhed, and to rebuild the cities they had burnt. This he did, in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would paſs the Rhine, and ſeize it.

His

* Cæſar ſays himſelf, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raiſed from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in perſon, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their paſſage over the Arar, now the Saone, and killed great numbers of them.

† Bibracte, now Autun.

‡ He ſent back his horſe, and the reſt followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to ſhow his troops that he would take his ſhare in all the danger. Vide Bell. Gall. lib. i.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans, though he had before honoured their king Arioviſtus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved inſupportable neighbours * to thoſe he had ſubdued, and it was eaſy to ſee, that inſtead of being ſatisfied with their preſent acquiſitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conqueſts over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly thoſe of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæſar's ſervice only in hopes of living luxuriouſly, and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they were at liberty "to retire, and needed not hazard their perſons againſt "their inclination, ſince they were ſo unmanly and ſpirit-"leſs. For his part, he would march with the tenth "legion only againſt thoſe barbarians; for they were nei-"ther better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worſe "general than Marius." Upon this the tenth legion deputed ſome of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great ſpirit and alacrity. After a march of ſeveral days they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Cæſar's arrival broke the confidence of Arioviſtus. Inſtead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had ſuppoſed they would not dare to ſtand the Germans, when they went in queſt of them. He was much ſurpriſed, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæſar; and, what was worſe, he ſaw his own troops were diſheartened. They were diſpirited ſtill more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining, and uſed to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs or other noiſe made by the ſtream. On this occaſion they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæſar having got information of theſe matters, and ſeeing the Germans lie cloſe in their camp, thought it better

* The Ædui implored his protection againſt Arioviſtus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long ſubſiſted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himſelf maſter of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hoſtages. The Ædui were the people of Autun; the Arverni of Auvergne; and the Sequani of Franche Comte. Cæs. Bell Gall. lib. i.

better to engage them while thus dejected, than to ſit ſtill and wait their time. For this reaſon he attacked their entrenchments and the hills upon which they were poſted; which provked them to ſuch a degree, that they deſcended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæſar purſued them to the Rhine, which was * three hundred furlongs from the field of battle, covering all the way with dead bodies and ſpoils. Arioviſtus reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is ſaid to have amounted to eighty thouſand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter-quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this ſide the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the tranſactions in Rome. For the river Rubicon parts the reſt of Italy from Ciſalpine Gaul. During his ſtay there, he carried on a variety of ſtate-intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their reſpects to him, and he ſent them all away ſatisfied; ſome laden with preſents, and others happy in hope. In the ſame manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's obſerving it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As ſoon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the moſt powerful people in Gaul, and whoſe territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and aſſembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of thoſe Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeated the main body, which made but a feeble reſiſtence, and killed ſuch numbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the inſurgents as dwelt upon the ſea-coaſt, ſurrendered without oppoſition.

From thence he led his army againſt the † Nervii, who live among thick woods. After they had ſecured their families and moſt valuable goods, in the beſt manner they could, in the heart of a large foreſt, at a great diſtance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of ſixty thou-

* Cæſar ſays, it was only five miles from the field of battle; therefore, inſtead of *τριακοσιους*, we ſhould read *πεντακοσιους*.

† Their country is now called Hainault and Cambreſis.

thouſand, and fell upon Cæſar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the leaſt notion of ſo ſudden an attack *. They firſt routed his cavalry, and then ſurrounded the twelfth and the ſeventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæſar ſnatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and ruſhed upon the barbarians; or had not the † tenth legion, ſeeing his danger, run from the heights where they were poſted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have ſurvived the battle. But though encouraged by this bold act of Cæſar, they fought with a ſpirit above their ſtrength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Thoſe brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the ſpot. It is ſaid that out of ſixty thouſand not above five hundred were ſaved, and out of four hundred Nervian ſenators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the ſenate of Rome decreed that ſacrifices ſhould be offered, and all manner of feſtivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed the danger appeared very great, on account of ſo many nations riſing at once; and as Cæſar

* As this attack was unexpected, Cæſar had, in a manner, every thing to do at the ſame inſtant. The banner was to be erected, the charge ſounded, the ſoldiers at a diſtance recalled, the army drawn up, and the ſignal given. In this ſurpriſe he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the beſt manner he could, cauſed the ſignal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous reſiſtance; but as the enemy ſeemed determined either to conquer or die, the ſucceſs was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great ſlaughter of them. In another place the eight and eleventh legions repulſed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the ſeventh and twelfth legions ſuffered extremely. They were entirely ſurrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being ſlain, and moſt of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæſar ſnatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himſelf at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them.

† In the original it is the twelfth; But it appears from the ſecond book of Cæſar's Commentaries, that we ſhould read here δεκατον, not δωδεκατον. Indeed the Paris manuſcript has δεκατον.

Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul, on the other side the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his intereſt in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of ſtate were ſupplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did every thing to extend his power. Nay, the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious perſonages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Craſſus, Appius governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconſul in Spain. So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their maſters, and above two hundred ſenators honoured him with their aſſiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of buſineſs, they parted. Pompey and Craſſus were to be conſuls the year enſuing, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with ſupplies out of the treaſury for his occaſions. The laſt particular appeared extremely abſurd to all men of ſenſe. They who received ſo much of Cæsar's money, perſuaded the ſenate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they inſiſted it ſhould be done, and every honeſt man ſighed inwardly while he ſuffered the decree to paſs. Cato, indeed, was abſent, having been ſent with a commiſſion to Cyprus on purpoſe that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in Cato's ſteps, vigorouſly oppoſed thoſe meaſures; and when he found that his oppoſition availed nothing, he left the houſe, and applied to the people, exclaiming againſt ſuch pernicious counſels. No one, however, attended to him; ſome being overawed by Pompey and Craſſus, and others influenced by regard for Cæsar, in whoſe ſmile alone they lived and all their hopes flouriſhed.

Cæsar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Uſipetes * and the Teuchteri, two great German nations, having croſſed

* The people of the *Marsh* and of Weſtphalia, and thoſe of Munſter and Cleves.

This war happened under the conſulſhip of Craſſus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were ſeveral intermediate tranſactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the Advatici by Cæsar; of ſeven other nations by P. Craſſus, the ſon of the triumvir; offers of ſubmiſſion from ſeveral

the Rhine to make conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall take from Cæsar's own * Commentaries. These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheless they attacked him as he was making an excursion. With only eight hundred horse, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day they sent other deputies to apologise for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. These agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately against them; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius writes, that when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author, rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had passed the Rhine, there were four hundred thousand killed. The few who escaped, repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame, to be the first Roman that ever crossed the Rhine in an hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked and wakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By these means he exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, so immense a bridge finished in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi and the Sicambri, the most warlike nations in Germany, having retired into the

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ral nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Galba in his winter quarters at Octodorus, and his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. These particulars are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the war in Gaul.

* Ruauld justly observes, that Plutarch should not have called the Commentaries ἐφημερὶς, as he does here, but ὑπομνήματα, as usual.

the heart of their forests, and concealed themselves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better * disposed Germans in the interest of Rome; after which he returned into Gaul, having spent no more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large, that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness †. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished: he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be sent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him, that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in child-bed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition. For the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

‡ As Cæsar's army was now very large, he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter quarters; after

* The Ubii, the people of Cologne.

† It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, lived chiefly on milk and flesh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

‡ This army consisted of eight legions; and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate his troops for their better subsistence. He was therefore

which he took the road to Italy, according to cuſtom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls riſing again, traverſed the country with conſiderable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and inſulted their entrenchments. The moſt numerous and the ſtrongeſt body of the inſurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and beſieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with ſixty thouſand men; and though the ſpirit of thoſe brave Romans made a reſiſtance above their ſtrength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæſar, who was at a great diſtance, at laſt getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed ſeven thouſand, haſtened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raiſed the ſiege, and went to meet him; for they deſpiſed the ſmallneſs of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæſar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a ſmall army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men ſtrict orders not to fight, but to throw up a ſtrong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the ſecureſt manner; contriving by all theſe manœuvres to increaſe the enemy's contempt of him. It ſucceeded as he wiſhed; the Gauls came up with great inſolence and diſorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæſar making a ſudden ſally, defeated and deſtroyed the greateſt part of them. This ſucceſs laid the ſpirit of revolt in thoſe parts; and for farther ſecurity he remained all the winter in Gaul, viſiting all the quarters, and keeping a ſharp eye upon every motion towards war. Beſides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of thoſe he had loſt; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raiſed in Ciſalpine Gaul.

* After this, the ſeeds of hoſtilities, which had long before been privately ſcattered in the more diſtant parts of the

ſore under the neceſſity of fixing the quarters at ſuch a diſtance, which would otherwiſe have been impolitic. He tells us, (lib. v.) that all the legions, except one, which was in a quiet country, were poſted within the compaſs of a hundred miles.

* Plutarch paſſes over the whole ſixth book of Cæſar's commentaries, as he had done the third. Many conſiderable events happened between the

the country, by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed for the war, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses they occupied. Besides, it was then the most severe season of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner that they looked like so many ponds; the roads lay concealed in snow, or in floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the * Arverni and † Carnutes. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death, for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into several parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise all Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome. But had he staid a little longer till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the Gauls would not have been less dreadful to Italy now than those of the Cimbri were formerly.

Cæsar, who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner informed of this great defection, than he set out to chastise its authors; and by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted. For where a courier could scarce have been supposed to come in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging the country, destroying the castles, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the ‡ Edui also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans, and had

the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; such as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæsar's second passage over the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

* The people of Auvergne, particularly those of Clermont and St. Flour.

† The people of Chartres and Orleanois.

‡ The people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons upon Saone and Nevers.

been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay through Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haste, and traversed the * country of the Lingones, in order to come into † that of the Sequani, who were fast friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat ‡. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those who escaped out of the battle, retired into § Alesia with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During this siege he found himself exposed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of three hundred thousand; and there were not less than seventy thousand combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship, than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing, is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the action a secret

* The district of Langres.

† The district of Besançon.

‡ This passage in the original is corrupt or defective. We have endeavoured to supply that defect, by reading, with M. Dacier, Ῥωμαίων instead of ἀλλων; which is agreeable to Cæsar's own account of the battle, in the seventh book of his Commentaries.

§ Cæsar calls it Alexia, now Alise, near Flavigny.

secret to the troops in the town *. It is still more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking-vessels, and tents of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greatest part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himself and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet, where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him down as he had set him up: Whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great atchievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself: and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted, that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offen-

* Cæsar says, those in the town had a distinct view of the battle.

five weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened, that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand; by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul; that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuation of his commission in Gaul answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him. For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who was come with some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him, "The marks on his back were so many additional "proofs that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go and show them to Cæsar.

But, after the consulship of Marcellus, Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes; he paid off the vast debts of Curio the tribune; he presented the consul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the *forum*, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood.

stood. Pompey, now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops he had lent him for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them, with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty *drachmas* to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back, spread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted, that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his service, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; so obnoxious was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions they had of his aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told, that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services. For to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits; and there were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls.* Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-

* Instead of διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, some MSS. give us διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων.

in-law, propoſed in the ſenate, that if Cæſar did not lay down his arms by ſuch a day, he ſhould be declared an enemy to the ſtate; and the conſuls putting it to the queſtion, "Whether Pompey ſhould diſmiſs his forces," and again, "Whether Cæſar ſhould diſband his," few of the members were for the firſt, and almoſt all for the ſecond *. After which, Antony put the queſtion, "Whether both ſhould lay down their commiſſions," and all with one voice anſwered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the conſul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees but arms ſhould "be employed againſt a public robber," made the ſenate break up; and on account of the unhappy diſſention, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæſar with more moderate propoſals. He offered to abandon all the reſt, provided they would continue to him the government of Ciſalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a ſecond conſulſhip. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very deſirous of effecting a reconciliation, uſed all poſſible means to ſoften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by perſuading Cæſar's friends to be ſatisfied with the two provinces and ſix thouſand ſoldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromiſe, when Lentulus the conſul rejecting it with diſdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the ſenate houſe. Thus he furniſhed Cæſar with the moſt plauſible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make uſe of it to exaſperate his troops, by ſhowing them perſons of diſtinction, and magiſtrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages and in the habit of ſlaves †; for their fears had made them leave Rome in that diſguiſe.

Cæſar had not then with him above three hundred horſe and five thouſand foot. The reſt of his forces were left on the other ſide the Alps, and he had ſent them orders to join him. But he ſaw the beginning of his enterpriſe, and

* Dio ſays, there was not a man for the firſt queſtion, whereas the whole houſe was for the ſecond, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

† Caſſius Longinus went with them in the ſame diſguiſe.

and the attack that he meditated did not require any great numbers; His enemies were rather to be ſtruck with conſternation by the boldneſs and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impreſſion upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He therefore ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their ſwords, without any other armour, and make themſelves maſters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all poſſible care that no blood ſhould be ſhed or diſturbance raiſed. Hortenſius was at the head of this party. As for himſelf, he ſpent the day at a public ſhow of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having deſired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To ſome of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he ſet out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards

When he arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Ciſalpine Gaul from the reſt of Italy, his reflections became more intereſting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the greatneſs of his attempt, he ſtopped, to weigh with himſelf its inconveniencies; and, as he ſtood revolving in ſilence the arguments on both ſides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with ſuch of his friends as were by, among whom was Aſinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities which the paſſage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by poſterity. At laſt, upon ſome ſudden impulſe, bidding adieu to his reaſonings, and plunging into the abyſs of futurity, in the words of thoſe who embark in doubtful and arduous enterpriſes, he cried out, "The "die is caſt," and immediately paſſed the river. He travelled ſo faſt the reſt of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day light, and took it. It is ſaid, that the preceding night he had a moſt abominable dream; he thought he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by ſea and land, and Cæſar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the

laws of his country; not individuals were ſeen, as on other occaſions, wandering in diſtraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and ſeeking refuge by flight. Moſt of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was ſo filled with the haſty conflux of the circling people, that amidſt the violent agitation it would hardly either obey the magiſtrate, or liſten to the voice of reaſon, but it was in the utmoſt danger of falling by its own violence. For the whole was a prey to contrary paſſions, and the moſt violent convulſions: Thoſe who favoured theſe diſorders were not ſatisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party, amidſt their fears and ſorrows, and inſulted them with menaces of what was to come; which is the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch troubles in a great city.

Pompey himſelf, who was already confounded at the turn things had taken, was ſtill more diſturbed by a variety of cenſures on his conduct. Some ſaid, he juſtly ſuffered for exalting Cæſar againſt himſelf and his country; others, for permitting Lentulus to over-rule him, when Cæſar departed from his firſt demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went ſo far as to bid him, "Stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting ſpeech he had made in the ſenate, in which he bade them take no thought about preparations for the war; for, as ſoon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but ſtamp with his foot, he ſhould fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæſar, but his partizans would not ſuffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By falſe reports and groundleſs terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous ſtate, and nothing to be expected but hoſtilities, and then left Rome, having firſt ordered the ſenate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The conſuls too fled with him, without offering the ſacrifices which cuſtom required before they took their departure from Rome. Moſt of the ſenators ſnatched up thoſe things in their houſes that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were ſome who before were well affected to Cæſar, that in the preſent terror changed ſides, and ſuffered themſelves without neceſſity to be carried away by the

the torrent. What a miſerable ſpectacle was the city then! In ſo dreadful a tempeſt, like a ſhip abandoned by its pilots, toſt about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and ſeas. But though flight was ſo unpromiſing an alternative, ſuch was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they conſidered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæſar. For even Labienus, one of Cæſar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had ſerved under him with the greateſt alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheleſs, Cæſar ſent him his money and his equipage.

After this, Cæſar inveſted Corfinium, where * Domitius with thirty cohorts commanded for Pompey. Domitius in deſpair ordered a ſervant of his, who was his phyſician to give him poiſon. He took the draught prepared for him, as a ſure means of death; but, ſoon after, hearing of Cæſar's extraordinary clemency to his priſoners, he lamented his own caſe, and the haſty reſolution he had taken. Upon which the phyſician removed his fears, by aſſuring him that what he had drank was a ſleeping potion, not a deadly one. This gave him ſuch ſpirits, that he roſe up and went to Cæſar. But though Cæſar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he ſoon revolted, and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this tranſaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the mean time Cæſar having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garriſon, was ſtrong enough to march againſt Pompey himſelf. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brunduſium, from whence he ſent the conſuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæſar, ſailed thither himſelf, as we have related at large in his life. Cæſar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ſhips. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in ſixty days, without ſpilling a drop of blood.

Finding

* Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to ſucceed Cæſar, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, in the government of Tranſalpine Gaul; but he imprudently ſhut himſelf up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commission; whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said, "Arms and laws do not flourish together. If you are not pleased at what I am about, you have nothing to do but to withdraw: indeed, war will not bear much liberty of speech. When I say this, I am departing from my own right: For you and all whom I have found exciting a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal." Saying this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus opposed him again, and some praised his firmness; but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, young man," said he, "you are not ignorant that this is harder for me to say than to do." Metellus, terrified with this menace, retired, and afterwards Cæsar was easily and readily supplied with every thing necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, from whence he was resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piso pressed him to send deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Isauricus, to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it. The senate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he restored to their honours the children of those who had suffered under Sylla; and

and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundusium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only six hundred select horse and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month *Posideon*, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back * his ships to Brundusium to bring over the forces that were left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to their port. "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours! "Will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone, "or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated "blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. "Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mor- "tal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to "the same impressions with other men? The gods them- "selves cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas "of storms and tempests. And it is in this season that "he would expose us, as if he was flying from his ene- "mies, rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundusium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march. And sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundusium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most

* He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer losing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burnt them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

a moſt aſtoniſhing enterpriſe. Though the ſea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he reſolved to embark in a veſſel of twelve oars, without acquainting any perſon with his intention, and ſail to Brunduſium *. In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a ſlave, and throwing himſelf into the veſſel like a man of no account, ſat there in ſilence. They fell down the river † Anius for the ſea, where the entrance is generally eaſy, becauſe the land-wind riſing in a morning, uſed to beat off the waves of the ſea, and ſmooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a ſtrong ſea-wind ſprung up which overpowered that from the land; ſo that by the rage of the ſea and the counteraction of the ſtream, the river became extremely rough; the waves daſhed againſt each other with a tumultuous noiſe, and formed ſuch dangerous eddies, that the pilot deſpaired of making good his paſſage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæſar perceiving this, roſe up, and ſhowing himſelf to the pilot, who was greatly aſtoniſhed at the ſight of him, ſaid, "Go forward, my friend, "and fear nothing; thou carrieſt Cæſar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the ſtorm, and plying their oars with the utmoſt vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the reſiſtance of the waves. But ſuch was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed ſo faſt into the veſſel, that Cæſar at laſt, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the ſoldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expreſſing the greateſt concern that he did not aſſure himſelf of conquering with them only, but, in diſtruſt of their ſupport, gave himſelf ſo much uneaſineſs, and expoſed his perſon to ſo much danger on account of the abſent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brunduſium with the troops ‡. Cæſar, then in the higheſt ſpirits, offered battle.

* Moſt hiſtorians blame this as a raſh action; and Cæſar himſelf, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of this, or of another leſs dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had ſurrounded his army in his abſcence, he dreſſed himſelf like a native of the country, and in that diſguiſe paſſed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

† Strabo in his ſeventh book, (Ed. Par. p. 316. BC.) calls this river *Aous*. In Polybius it is called *Lous*; but that is a corruption, the A being changed, by the fault of the tranſcriber, into an A.

‡ Antony and Calenus embarked on board the veſſels which had eſcaped Bibulus, eight hundred horſe and four legions, that is, three old ones

tle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas Cæsar at first had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The soldiers, however, found great relief from a * root in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it among them, and declared, "That as long "as the earth produced such roots, they would certainly "besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and ready to shudder at the thought of the impenetrable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's entrenchments †, and Cæsar had the advantage in them all, except one, in which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the ensign-staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, insomuch that no less than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and strong man, to stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæsar

ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

* This root was called *Clara*. Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learnt to make bread of it.

† Cæsar observed an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was enclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he suffered so much loss. He lost nine hundred and sixty foot, four hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. We mentioned just now, that Pompey was enclosed, as in fact he was on the land side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their entrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends, as he withdrew, "This day "victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had "had a general who knew how to conquer." He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life. For he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from the want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at the retreat of Cæsar; they considered it as a flight, and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence. He was well provided with every thing requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet: And, what was still a more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen: For when he saw the bodies of the enemy, who fell in the late action, to the number of a thousand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired, weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in possession of, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly state he had got, would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command, but he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for, on account of his late loss, they looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi*, a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly of the disorder. For, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took, threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus *Victorious*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine

* Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place, before Pompey or Scipio could come up, gave a general assault, about three in the afternoon; and, though the walls were very high, carried it before sun set.

ſanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæſar's pontificate; and numbers ſent to Rome, to engage houſes convenient for conſuls and prætors, making themſelves ſure of being ſoon raiſed to thoſe high offices after the war. But the cavalry teſtified the greateſt impatience for a battle; ſo proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horſes, and the beauty and vigour of their perſons; beſides, they were much more numerous than Cæſar's, being ſeven thouſand to one thouſand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five thouſand, and Cæſar only twenty-two thouſand.

Cæſar called his ſoldiers together, and told them, "That "Cornificius was well advanced on his way with two "more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under the "command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and "Athens." He then aſked them, "Whether they choſe "to wait for thoſe troops, or to riſk a battle without "them?" They anſwered aloud, "Let us not wait, but "do you find out ſome ſtratagem to bring the enemy, as "ſoon as poſſible, to an action."

He began with offering ſacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the firſt victim, the ſoothſayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæſar then aſked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auſpicious preſage. He anſwered, "It is you who can beſt "reſolve that queſtion. The gods announce a great "change and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at "preſent, the alteration will be for the worſe; if other-"wiſe, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phænomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it paſſed over his camp, flamed out with great brightneſs, and ſeemed to fall in that of Pompey. And in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was obſerved in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæſar, however, ſo little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotuſa *.

But as they were ſtriking their tents, his ſcouts rode up, and told him the enemy were coming down to give him battle.

* Cæſar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were posted over against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do, when the enemy's horse came to charge*. Pompey's disposition was this. He commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they designed to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a successful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but they must necessarily be broken in pieces upon the first impression.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct. He said, Pompey was not aware, what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge, gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole†.

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said, "What cheer, Caius ‡ Crassinus? How, think you, do we stand?" "Cæsar," said the veteran in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand, "the

* Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Afranius, not Domitius Ahenobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing. Cæsar does not, indeed, expressly say who commanded there, but he says, "On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army." See the notes on the life of Pompey.

† Cæsar was so confident of success, that he ordered his entrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops that they would be masters of the enemy's camp before night.

‡ Plutarch, in the life of Pompey, calls him *Crossianus*. Cæsar calls him *Crastinus*.

" the victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this " day I shall have your praise either alive or dead." So saying, he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of an hundred and twenty men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force in at his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing. But before they could* begin the attack, the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind, came up boldly, to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, not strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers, who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid above all things a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger, as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their heads and covered them with their hands. This caused great confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had beaten them off, surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat, as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sate down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the troo

* Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. *Bell. Civil.* lib. iii.

troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What? into my camp, too?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately. What misfortunes befel him afterwards, how he put himself in the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we shall relate at large in his life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then dispatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this cruel necessity they reduced me: For, had Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us, Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that afterwards expressed the sense of them in Greek. He says, that most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp, were slaves, and that there fell not in the battle above six thousand soldiers *. Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners; and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable. There was a statue of Cæsar in the temple of victory; and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm tree sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now draws to a decision; the two generals are engaged," then he made another observation, and the signs appearing so clear to him, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic

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* Cæsar says, there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thousand prisoners; and that on his side, the loss amounted only to about two hundred private soldiers, and thirty centurions.

tic manner, and cried out, "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror." As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head, and swore "He would never put it on again, till the event had put his art beyond question." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege upon the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables; and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated; and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with great abhorence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it, he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he had of his victory, was, in saving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens, who had borne arms against him."

As for his Egyptian war, some assert that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel, which proved both prejudicial to his reputation, and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence at court, and who, having taken off Pompey, and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence it is said, that Cæsar began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater security of his person. The behaviour indeed, of this eunuch in public, all he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with, was old and musty, and he told them, "They ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at other people's cost." He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæsar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Cæsar seventeen million five hundred thousand *drachmas*. Cæsar had

had formerly remitted to his children the reſt, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, inſtead of paying the money, adviſed him to go and finiſh the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he ſhould have his money with thanks. But Cæſar told him, "He had no need of "Egyptian counſellors," and privately ſent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princeſs, taking only one friend, Apollodorus the Sicilian, with her, got into a ſmall boat, and in the duſk of the evening made for the palace. As ſhe ſaw it difficult to enter it undiſcovered, ſhe rolled herſelf up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæſar. This ſtratagem of hers, which was a ſtrong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is ſaid to have firſt opened her the way to Cæſar's heart; and the conqueſt advanced ſo faſt, by the charms of her converſation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and inſiſted that ſhe ſhould reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occaſion; when a ſervant of Cæſar's, who was his barber, a timorous and ſuſpicious man, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing, and to liſten every where about the palace, found that Achillas the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting againſt Cæſar's life. Cæſar being informed of their deſign, planted his guards about the hall and killed Photinus. But Achillas eſcaped to the army, and involved Cæſar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for, with a few troops, he had to make head againſt a great city, and a powerful army.

* The firſt difficulty he met with, was, the want of water, the Egyptians having ſtopped up the aqueducts † that ſupplied his quarter. The ſecond was, the loſs of his ſhips in harbour, which he was forced to burn himſelf, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately ſpreading from the dock to the palace,

* He was in greater danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himſelf maſter of Alexandria. Cæs. Bell. Civil. Lib. iii. ſub finem.

† They alſo contrived to raiſe the ſea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæſar's reſervoirs and ciſterns; but Cæſar ordered wells to be dug, and, in a night's time, got a ſufficient quantity of freſh water. Vide Cæs. Bell. Alex.

burnt the great Alexandrian library. The third * was in the ſea-fight near the iſle of Pharos, when, ſeeing his men hard preſſed, he leaped from the mole into a little ſkiff, to go to their aſſiſtance. The Egyptians making up on all ſides, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with much difficulty reached † his gallies by ſwimming. Having ſeveral valuable papers, which he was not willing either to loſe or to wet, it is ſaid he held them above water with one hand, and ſwam with the other. The ſkiff ſunk ſoon after he left it. At laſt the king joining the inſurgents, Cæſar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were ſlain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæſar opportunity to eſtabliſh Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after, ſhe had a ſon by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæſario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Aſia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, ſon of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, purſuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himſelf maſter of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Leſs, having ſtirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Aſia againſt the Romans. Cæſar immediately marched againſt him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and diſpatch with which he gained this victory, he made uſe only of three words ‡, "I came, I ſaw, I conquered." Their having all the ſame form and termination in the Roman language, adds grace to their conciſeneſs.

After this extraordinary ſucceſs, he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his ſecond dictatorſhip, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared conſul for the year enſuing. But

* Firſt, there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæſar attacked the iſland, and, laſt of all, the mole. It was in this laſt attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

† His firſt intention was to gain the Admiral galley; but finding it very hard preſſed, he made for the others. And it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley ſoon went to the bottom.

‡ *Veni, vidi, vici.*

But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of prætorian dignity, in any severer manner than by calling them citizens *, instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them a thousand *drachmas* notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius †, who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army with the assistance of king Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse ‡. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was,

* But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutinied at Capua, and afterwards marched with great insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded; which so humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

† It was Antony, not Cornificius, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's house; as appears from the life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic. Therefore, there is, probably, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber.

‡ He embarked six legions, and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at first; many of the ships having been separated by a storm.

"That the race of Scipio would be always victorious in "Africa." And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other reſpects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his ſide, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occaſions of this kind; for he was often forced to fight for proviſions, having neither a ſufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horſes. He was obliged to give his horſes the very ſea-weed, only waſhing out the ſalt, and mixing a little graſs with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a neceſſity of having recourſe to this expedient, was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by ſwift and ſudden impreſſions commanded the whole coaſt.

One day when Cæſar's cavalry had nothing elſe to do, they diverted themſelves with an African who danced, and played upon the flute, with great perfection. They had left their horſes to the care of boys, and ſate attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæſar himſelf, and Aſinius Pollio come to their aſſiſtance, and ſtopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again; on which occaſion it was that Cæſar took an enſign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, ſaid, "Look on this ſide for the "enemy."

Scipio, flushed with theſe ſucceſsful preludes, was deſirous to come to a deciſive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their reſpective camps, which were at no great diſtance, he went in perſon to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapſus, to raiſe a fortification for a place of arms and an occaſional retreat. While Scipio was conſtructing his walls and ramparts, Cæſar, with incredible diſpatch, made his way through a country almoſt impracticable by reaſon of its woods and difficult paſſes, and coming ſuddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the beſt uſe of his opportunity and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of ſucceſs he took the camp of Afranius, and deſtroyed that of the

the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus in a small part of one day he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men.

Such is the account some give us of the action: Others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army, and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them being afterwards taken, dispatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica*, which Cato had the charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou "enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before. For how can it be thought he would have spared the living enemy, when he poured so much venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured, that the book was not written out of a spirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was composed on such an occasion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly esteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the superior eloquence of the author, as the dignity of the subject. Cæsar was piqued at the success of a work, which, in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, he thought insinuated something to the dis-

* Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth, so that these two cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about an hundred years. Two years after, they were both repeopled with Roman colonies.

advantage of his character. He therefore wrote an anſwer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges againſt that great man. Both books have ſtill their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæſar or of Cato predominates.

Cæſar, after his return from Africa to Rome, ſpoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them, he had ſubdued a country ſo extenſive, that it would bring yearly into the public ſtores two hundred thouſand Attic* meaſures of wheat, and three million of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his ſeveral triumphs, over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa†. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the ſon of that prince, then very young, walked in the proceſſion. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an hiſtorian worthy to be numbered among the moſt learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the ſoldiers, and feaſts and public diverſions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thouſand tables, and preſented them with a numerous ſhow of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When thoſe exhibitions were over‡, an account was taken of the citizens, who, from three hundred and twenty thou-

* *Medimni.* See the table of weights and meaſures.

† Plutarch either forgot to make mention of the triumph over Gaul, which was the moſt conſiderable, or elſe τοῦ Κελτικοῦ has dropt out of the text.

‡ Ruauld takes notice of three great miſtakes in this paſſage. The firſt is, where it is ſaid that Cæſar took a *cenſus* of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Auguſtus himſelf, in the Marmora Ancyrana, ſays, that in his ſixth conſulate, that is, in the year of Rome 725, he numbered the people which had not been done for forty-two years before. The ſecond is, that, before the civil wars broke out between Cæſar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thouſand; for long before that, it was much greater, and had continued upon the increaſe. The laſt is, where it is aſſerted, that, in leſs than three years, thoſe three hundred and twenty thouſand were reduced by that war, to an hundred and fifty thouſand; the falſity of which aſſertion is evident from this, that a little while after, Cæſar made a draught of eighty thouſand, to be ſent to foreign colonies. But, what is ſtill ſtronger, eighteen years after, Auguſtus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and ſixty-three thouſand, as Suetonius aſſures us. From a paſſage in the ſame Author (Life of Cæſar. Chap. iv.) theſe miſtakes of Plutarch took their riſe. Suetonius there ſays, *Recenſum populi*

thouſand, were reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand. So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and ſuch a number of the people did it take off, to ſay nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the reſt of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This buſineſs done, he was elected conſul the fourth time; and the firſt thing he undertook, was to march into Spain againſt the ſons of Pompey, who, though young, had aſſembled a numerous army, and ſhowed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war, was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæſar at firſt ſaw his men ſo hard preſſed, and making ſo feeble a reſiſtance, that he ran through the ranks, amidſt the ſwords and ſpears, crying, "Are "you not aſhamed to deliver your general into the hands "of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced, at laſt made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thouſand of them ſlain, whereas Cæſar loſt only a thouſand, but thoſe were ſome of the beſt men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often fought for victory, but that "was the firſt time he had fought for his life."

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia* *, which was the ſame day that Pompey the Great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's ſons made his eſcape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæſar.

This was the laſt of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other ſtep he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals, or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and deſtroying the race of one of the greateſt men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at laſt unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and re-

populi nec more nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim per dominos inſularum egit: atque ex viginti treſſentiſque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit. Suetonius ſpeaks there of the citizens, who ſhared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand, and probably, becauſe he perceived that diſtribution anſwered in many only the purpoſes of idleneſs, he reduced the number to a hundred and twenty thouſand. Plutarch miſtook *recenſum* for *cenſum*; and this error led him into the other miſtakes.

† The ſeventeenth of March.

joicing in things which nothing could excuſe, either before the gods or men, but extreme neceſſity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, becauſe, before this, he had never ſent any meſſenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather aſhamed of ſuch advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and ſubmitting to the bridle, becauſe they ſaw no other reſpite from inteſtine wars and miſeries, but the taking one man for their maſter, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to abſolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the firſt who propoſed that the ſenate ſhould confer great honours upon Cæſar, but honours within the meaſure of humanity. Thoſe who followed, contended with each other which ſhould make him the moſt extraordinary compliments, and by the abſurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and inſupportable even to perſons of candour. His enemies are ſuppoſed to have vied with his flatterers in theſe ſacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cauſe, to lift up their hands againſt him. This is probable enough, becauſe in other reſpects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It ſeems as if there was nothing unreaſonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæſar. For he not only pardoned moſt of thoſe who had appeared againſt him in the field, but on ſome of them he beſtowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Caſſius for inſtance; for they were both prætors. The ſtatues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not ſuffer them to lie in that poſture; he erected them again. On which occaſion Cicero ſaid, "That Cæſar, by rearing Pompey's ſtatues, "had eſtabliſhed his own."

His friends preſſed him to have a guard, and many offered to ſerve in that capacity, but he would not ſuffer it. For, he ſaid, "It was better to die once than to "live always in fear of death." He eſteemed the affection of the people the moſt honourable and the ſafeſt guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feaſts and diſtributions of corn, as he did the ſoldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The moſt noted places that he colonized, were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is remarkable,

remarkable, that as they were both taken and demolished at the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if those were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the prospects of hope; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people. For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly towards the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninius * Rebilius consul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house; on which occasion Cicero said "Let us make haste and pay our compliment to "the consul, before his office is expired."

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the many actions he had performed, by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired; they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a jealousy of himself, a contest with himself (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future atchievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian sea and mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself; and then to return by Gaul to Rome; thus finishing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the ocean on every side.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus †. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly

 from

* Macrobius calls him *Rebilus*.

† Ἀνίηνον ἐπὶ τοῦτο προχειρισάμενος. The Latin and French translators join this with the sentence that follows, and render it, "He designed also to unite the Anio and the Tiber, and convey them by a "deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, &c." But against that construction

from Rome to Circæi, and so into the sea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public spirited work that he meditated, was to drain all the marshes by * Nomentum and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands in tillage. He proposed farther to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. These things were designed, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous † computation of time, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice by little and little fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution; but even in the time of Cæsar, when the solar year was made use of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who were the only persons that knew any thing about it, used to add all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called *Marcedonius*, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extensively enough, to correct the great miscomputations of time; as we have observed in that prince's life.

Cæsar

construction there is this strong objection, that the Anio falls into the Tiber above Rome. In Greek, too, that river would be Ανιων, not Ανιηνος. And if we admitted of that construction, what could be made of Ανιηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος, which would literally be, *having previously fitted the Anio to that purpose.*

On the other hand it may be alleged, that possibly Plutarch might not know were the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber was, though, with respect to a man who had lived some time at Rome, it is scarce an admissible supposition. And we must acknowledge, that we have not any where else met with *Anienus* as a Roman name.

Suetonius takes no notice of Cæsar's intention to make this cut.

* It appears from a passage in Suetonius, Vit. Cæs. c. 44. *Siccare Pomptinas paludes* as well as from another in Strabo, Ed. Par. l. v. p. 231. C. D. that for *Nomentum*, we should here read *Pomentium*.

† Through means of that erroneous computation, the Roman calendar had gained near three months in the time of Cæsar. Before this, endeavours had been used to correct the irregularity, but it never could be done with exactness. See the life of Numa.

Cæsar having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero (if I mistake not) when some one happened to say, "*Lyra* will rise to-morrow," answered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it:" As if the calendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. It was the first thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plausible plea. Those who wanted to procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could never conquer the "Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct of "a king." And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing that the people were troubled at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment, and said, "He was not called king, but Cæsar." Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and he passed on in no good humour.

Another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station, and his answer to their address, was, "That there was more need to retrench his honours, "than to enlarge them." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the false step he had taken, he retired immediately to his own house; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, "He was ready for the first hand that would "strike." He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse; and asserted that those who are

under its influence, are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they ſpeak ſtanding; a trembling and giddineſs coming upon them, which bereaves them of their ſenſes. This, however, was not really the caſe; for it is ſaid, he was deſirous to riſe to the ſenate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had ſervility enough to ſay, "Will you not remember "that you are Cæſar, and ſuffer them to pay their court "to you as their ſuperior."

Theſe diſcontents were greatly increaſed by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to moſt writers, is an ancient paſtoral feaſt, and which anſwers in many reſpects to the *Lycæa* amongſt the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magiſtrates, run about the ſtreets naked, and, by way of diverſion, ſtrike all they meet with leathern thongs with the hair upon them. Numbers of women of the firſt quality put themſelves in their way, and preſent their hands for ſtripes, (as ſcholars dō to a maſter) being perſuaded that the pregnant gain an eaſy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæſar wore a triumphal robe that day, and ſeated himſelf in a golden chair upon the *roſtra*, to ſee the ceremony.

Antony ran among the reſt, in compliance with the rules of the feſtival, for he was conſul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæſar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this, ſome plaudits were heard, but very feeble, becauſe they proceeded only from perſons placed there on purpoſe. Cæſar refuſed it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony preſented it once more, and few applauded his officiouſneſs; but when Cæſar rejected it again, the applauſe again was general. Cæſar, undeceived by this ſecond trial, roſe up, and ordered the diadem to be conſecrated in the capitol.

A few days after, his ſtatues were ſeen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They alſo found out the perſons who firſt ſaluted Cæſar king, and committed them to priſon. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutuſes*, becauſe Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the ſenate and people. Cæſar, highly incenſed

incenſed at their behaviour, depoſed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as inſult to the people, called them ſeveral times *Brutes* and *Cumæans* *.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's ſide, was ſuppoſed to be a deſcendant of that ancient Brutus, and whoſe mother was of the illuſtrious houſe of the Servilii. He was alſo nephew and ſon-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand againſt monarchy, but he was with-held by the honours and favours he had received from Cæſar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharſalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his requeſt, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the moſt honourable prætorſhip, and he had named him for the conſulſhip four years after, in preference to Caſſius, who was his competitor. On which occaſion Cæſar is reported to have ſaid, "Caſſius aſſigns the ſtronger reaſons, but I cannot refuſe "Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conſpiracy was formed; but, inſtead of liſtening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and ſaid, "Brutus will wait for this ſkin;" intimating, that, though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baſeneſs to obtain it. Thoſe, however, who were deſirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at leaſt; and as they durſt not ſpeak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and ſeat which he uſed as prætor, moſtly in theſe terms, "Thou "ſleepeſt, Brutus," or, "Thou art not Brutus."

Caſſius perceiving his friend's ambition a little ſtimulated by theſe papers, began to ply him cloſer than before, and ſpur him on to the great enterpriſe; for he had a particular

* One thing which Strabo mentions as an inſtance of the ſtupidity of the Cumæans, namely, their not laying any duty upon merchandiſe imported into their harbour, ſeems to be a very equivocal proof of it; for their leaving the port free, might bring them trade, and make them a flouriſhing people. Another thing which he mentions (though it is ſcarce worth repeating), is, that they had mortgaged their portico, and, upon failure of payment of the money, were prohibited by their creditors from walking under them; but at laſt, when ſome heavy rains came on, public notice was given by the creditors, that their debtors would be indulged that favour. Hence, he tells us, that ſaying, "The Cumæans "have not ſenſe to get under ſhelter when it rains, till they are put in "mind of it by the crier."

lar enmity against Cæsar, for the reasons which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale "looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said. "I have no apprehensions from those fat "and sleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean ones;" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so secret, as it is inevitable. For we are told, these were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises * heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deserve not our notice in so great an event as this. But some attention should be given to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be burnt, yet, when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate-house, he called to the soothsayer, and said laughing, "The ides "of March are come;" to which he answered, softly, "Yes; but they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "a sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed, by moonshine, Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words

* With some of the manuscripts, we read ΚΤΥΠΟΥΣ νυκτωρ πολλαχȣ διαφερομενȣς. If the common reading, ΤΥΠΟΥΣ, κ τ. λ. be preferred, the sense will be *the spectres seen swimming about in the night*.

and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him, murdered, in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the * pinnacle was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the senate had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and distinction; and that it was the fall of it which she lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and, if he paid no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, any thing of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time, † Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence, that he had appointed him his second heir, yet was he engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day, the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if, by such a slight, he gave the senate an occasion of complaint against him. "For they were met," he said, "at his summons, "and came prepared with one voice to honour him with "the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that "he should wear the diadem both by land and sea every "where out of Italy. But if any one go and tell them, "now they have taken their places, they must go home "again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have "better dreams, what room will your enemies have to "launch out against you? Or who will hear your friends, "when they attempt to show, that this is not an open servi-"tude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other?—If "you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, "it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you "have

* The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device.

† Plutarch finding a *D.* prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius*; but his name was *Decimus* Brutus. See Appian and Suetonius.

"have ſtrong reaſons for putting off buſineſs till another "time." So ſaying, he took Cæſar by the hand, and led him out.

He was not gone far from the door, when a ſlave, who belonged to ſome other perſon, attempted to get up to ſpeak to him, but finding it impoſſible, by reaſon of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the houſe, and putting himſelf into the hands of Calpurnia, deſired her to keep him ſafe till Cæſar's return, becauſe he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with ſome of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of moſt of the tranſactions, approached Cæſar with a paper, explaining what he had to diſcover. Obſerving that he gave the papers, as faſt as he received them, to his officers, he got up as cloſe as poſſible, and ſaid, "Cæſar, read this to yourſelf "and quickly; for it contains matters of great conſe- "quence, and of the laſt concern to you." He took it, and attempted ſeveral times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the houſe. Some ſay, it was delivered to him by another man*, Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

Theſe things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the ſenate was that day aſſembled, and which proved the ſcene of that tragedy, there was a ſtatue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had conſecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that ſome deity conducted the whole buſineſs, and directed the execution of it to that very ſpot. Even Caſſius himſelf, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the ſtatue of Pompey, and ſecretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occaſion, it ſeems, over-ruled his former ſentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthuſiaſm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæſar, and a man of great ſtrength, was held in diſcourſe without by a Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long ſtory to detain him.

When Cæſar entered the houſe, the ſenate roſe to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind

* By Caius Trebonius. So Plutarch ſays, in the Life of Brutus; Appian ſays the ſame; and Cicero too, in his ſecond Philippic.

hind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with * Metillius Cimber, for the recal of his brother from exile. They continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated, he gave them a positive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. † Cimber then with both hands pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for in the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise, he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Casca! what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help."

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy, were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they durst neither fly, nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that, whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they had all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say, he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood; so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus dispatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they

* *Metillius* is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Appian he is named *Atilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Some call him Metellus Cimber; and others suppose we should read M. Tullius Cimber.

† Here in the original it is Metellius again.

they could not bear to hear him; they fled out of the houſe, and filled the people with inexpreſſible horror and diſmay. Some ſhut up their houſes; others left their ſhops and counters. All were in motion: One was running to ſee the ſpectacle; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæſar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themſelves in other people's houſes. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the ſlaughter, marched in a body, with their bloody ſwords in their hands, from the ſenate-houſe to the capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and ſtopping to talk with every man of conſequence whom they met. There were ſome who even joined them, and mingled with their train; deſirous of appearing to have had a ſhare in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity; being put to death by Antony and young Cæſar. So that they gained not even the honour for which they loſt their lives; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterpriſe; and they were puniſhed, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next day, Brutus and the reſt of the conſpirators came down from the capitol, and addreſſed the people, who attended to their diſcourſe, without expreſſing either diſlike or approbation of what was done. But by their ſilence, it appeared that they pitied Cæſar, at the ſame time that they revered Brutus. The ſenate paſſed a general amneſty, and, to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæſar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorſhip; while on Brutus and his friends they beſtowed governments, and ſuch honours as were ſuitable: So that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly eſtabliſhed again, and all brought into the beſt order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæſar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a conſiderable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They ſtopt the proceſſion, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burnt the corpſe there. Then ſnatching flaming brands from the pile, ſome ran to burn the houſes of the aſſaſſins, while others ranged the city, to find the conſpirators themſelves, and tear them

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in pieces; but they had taken such care to secure themselves, that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar's, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and, upon his refusal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in spite of all the resistance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæsar was to be burnt in the *forum*, he went to assist in doing him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, "Who that was?" and having learned his name, told it his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murderers; and, indeed, one of the conspirators was named Cinna. The multitude taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces upon the spot. Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at this rage of the populace, that, a few days after, they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings, and death, may be found in the life of Brutus.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at last. But he reaped no other fruits from it than an empty and an invidious title. It is true, the divine power which conducted him through life, attended him after his death as his avenger, pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipt their hands in his blood, or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair, was, that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens, was that of a great comet *, which

* "A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was seen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be a sign that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods; for which reason we added a star to the head of his statue, consecrated soon after in the *forum*."

Fragm. Aug. Cæs. ap. Plin. l. ii. c. 25.

which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale all that year; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarefies it; and the fruits were so crude and unconcocted, that they pined away and decayed, through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking, that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this: Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for it was natural to him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burnt very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature, and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke any thing to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, "Who it was?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou "shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll "meet thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing all lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot*.

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* Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has written is a confused jumble of facts snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy.

PHOCION.

DEMADES, the orator, by ſtudying in his whole adminiſtration to pleaſe the Macedonians and Antipater, had great authority in Athens. When he found himſelf by that complaiſance often obliged to propoſe laws and make ſpeeches injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he uſed to ſay, "He was excuſable, becauſe "he came to the helm when the commonwealth was no "more than a wreck." This aſſertion, which in him was unwarrantable, was true enough when applied to the adminiſtration of Phocion. Demades was the very man who wrecked his country. He purſued ſuch a vicious plan both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater ſcrupled not to ſay of him when he was grown old, "That he was "like a ſacrificed beaſt, all conſumed except his tongue "and his paunch *." But the virtue of Phocion found a ſtrong and powerful adverſary in the times, and its glory was obſcured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. For virtue is not ſo weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the ſentiments juſt which he puts in the mouth of one of the perſons of his drama:

—— The firmeſt mind will fail
Beneath misfortune's ſtroke, and, ſtunn'd, depart
From its ſage plan of action †.

racy. He has left us none of thoſe finer and minuter traits, which, as he elſewhere juſtly obſerves, diſtinguiſh and characteriſe the man more than his moſt popular and ſplendid operations. He has written the life of Cæſar like a man under reſtraint; has ſkimmed over his actions, and ſhown a manifeſt ſatisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumſtances, however inſignificant, or how often ſoever repeated by himſelf, in the narrative of other lives. Yet from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other hiſtorians, we may eaſily diſcover, that Cæſar was a man of great and diſtinguiſhed virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that openneſs of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the laſt prevailing paſſion would not have blinded him ſo far, as to put ſo early a period to his race of glory.

* The tongue and the paunch were not burnt with the reſt of the victim. The paunch uſed to be ſtuffed and ſerved up at table, and the tongue was burnt on the altar at the end of the entertainment in honour of Mercury, and had libations poured upon it. Of this there are many examples in Homer's Odyſſey.

† Sophoc. Antig. l. 569 and 570.

All the advantage that fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous, is the bringing upon them unjuſt reproach and cenſure, inſtead of the honour and eſteem which are their due, and by that means leſſening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs proſper, the people, elated with their ſtrength and ſucceſs, behave with great inſolence to good miniſters; but it is the very reverſe. Misfortunes always ſour their temper; the leaſt thing will then diſturb them; they take fire at trifles; and they are impatient of the leaſt ſeverity of expreſſion. He who reproves their faults, ſeems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free addreſs is conſidered as an inſult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member ſmart, ſo it often happens, that a remonſtrance, though pregnant with truth and ſenſe, hurts and irritates the diſtreſſed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expreſſes ſuch things as are pleaſant, by the word *menoeikes*, which ſignifies what is *ſymphonious to the mind*, what ſoothes its weakneſs, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark-brown colours, and avoid ſuch as are bright and glaring. So it is with a ſtate, in any ſeries of ill-conducted and unproſperous meaſures, ſuch is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the leaſt alarm; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its remembrance, gives it inexpreſſible pain, though not only ſalutary, but neceſſary; and it will not be heard, except its harſhneſs is modified. It is a difficult taſk to govern ſuch a people; for, if the man who tells them the truth, falls the firſt ſacrifice, he who flatters them, at laſt periſhes with them.

The mathematicians ſay, the ſun does not move in the ſame direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite oppoſite, but circulating with a gentle and almoſt inſenſible obliquity, gives the whole ſyſtem ſuch a temperature as tends to its preſervation. So in a ſyſtem of government, if a ſtateſman is determined to deſcribe a ſtraight line, and in all things to go againſt the inclinations of the people, ſuch rigour muſt make his adminiſtration odious; and, on the other hand, if he ſuffers himſelf to be carried along with their moſt erroneous motions, the government will ſoon be in a tottering and ruinous ſtate. The latter

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is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle courſe, ſometimes ſlackening the reins, and ſometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only meaſures that are formed upon rational principles: for a well-timed condeſcenſion and moderate treatment, will bring men to concur in many uſeful ſchemes, which they could not be brought into by deſpotiſm and violence. It muſt be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, becauſe it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleneſs; but when the juſt temperature is gained, it preſents the happieſt and moſt perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this ſublime harmony the ſupreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and though his influence is irreſiſtible, it is rational and mild.

The effects of auſterity were ſeen in the younger Cato. There was nothing engaging or popular in his behaviour; he never ſtudied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the adminiſtration was not great. Cicero ſays, "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and by that means fell ſhort of the conſulate*." His caſe appears to me to have been the ſame with that of fruit which comes out of ſeaſon: people look upon it with pleaſure and admiration, but they make no uſe of it. Thus the old faſhioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidſt the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the ſplendor of reputation which ſuch a phænomenon could claim, but it did not anſwer the exigencies of the ſtate; it was diſproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for uſe. Indeed his circumſtances were not altogether like thoſe of Phocion, who came not into the adminiſtration till the ſtate was ſinking †; whereas Cato had only to ſave the ſhip beating about in the ſtorm. At the ſame time we muſt allow that he had not the principal direction of her; he ſat not at the helm; he could do no more

* The paſſage here referred to, is in the firſt epiſtle of Cicero's ſecond book to Atticus. But we find nothing there of the repulſe Cato met with in his application for the conſulſhip. That repulſe, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of that epiſtle.

† Our author means, that uncommon and extraordinary efforts were more neceſſary to ſave the poor remains of a wreck, than to keep a ſhip, yet whole and entire, from ſinking.

more than help to hand the ſails and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of hands, but with great difficulty, by ſlow ſteps and gradual advances. So near was Rome being ſaved by Cato and Cato's virtue! With it we would compare that of Phocion: not in a general manner, ſo as to ſay, they were both perſons of integrity, and able ſtateſmen; for there is a difference between valour and valour, for inſtance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themiſtocles and that of Ariſtides were not the ſame; juſtice was of one kind in Numa, and in Ageſilaus of another: but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the ſame in the moſt minute particulars; their impreſſion, form and colour, are perfectly ſimilar. Thus their ſeverity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution; they had the ſame ſolicitude for others, and diſregard for themſelves; the ſame abhorence of every thing baſe and diſhonourable, and the ſame firm attachment to juſtice on all occaſions: ſo that it requires a very delicate expreſſion, like the finely diſcriminated ſounds of the organ, to mark the difference * in their characters.

It is univerſally agreed, that Cato was of an illuſtrous pedigree, which we ſhall give ſome account of in his life; and

* Ὥστε λοιπὸν ἄνευ λόγου διαθέσεως, καθάπερ ὀργάνου πρὸς διακρισιν καὶ ἀπόφασιν τῶν διαφερόντων.

The organ here mentioned was probably that invented by Cteſibius, who, according to Athenæus, placed in the temple of Zephyrus, at Alexandria, a tube, which, collecting air by the apulſive motion of water, emitted muſical ſounds, either by their ſtrength adapted to war, or by their lightneſs to feſtivity. Hedylus, in his elegies, mentions this organ under the title of Κερας.

Ζεφυρωτιδι καὶ τοῦτο φίλον ζεφύρῳ μέγα πνοῦ,
Θρῆττον μὲν βασιλεὺς ἱεροῖσι τὸ κέρας.
Σαλπίζον λυγίαις τε χέρσου πρὸς ἰωὴν ἠχῆς
Δεινὸν καὶ πολέμου σύνθημα καὶ θωλπης.

Thus we ſee this inſtrument was capable of great variety and diſcrimination of harmony. Claudian has left us the following deſcription of this water organ:

Et qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu,
Innumeras voces ſegetis moderatur ahenæ.
Intonat erranti digito, penituſque trabali
Vectle laborantes in carmina concitat undas.

Cornelius Severus ſays, *Ejus fuit generis qui aquarum affulſu auram concipere.* But its *innumeræ voces*, as Claudian calls them, its variety of expreſſion, is undoubtedly the reaſon why Plutarch mentions it here.

and we conjecture, that Phocion's was not mean or obſcure: for had he been the ſon of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus, the ſon of Hyperides, among a thouſand other things, in the treatiſe which he wrote on purpoſe to diſparage him. Nor, if his birth had been ſo low, would he have had ſo good an education, or ſuch a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that when very young, he was in tuition with Plato, and afterwards with Xenocrates in the academy; and from the very firſt he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſtrong application to the moſt valuable ſtudies. Duris tells us, the Athenians never ſaw him either laugh or cry, or make uſe of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloak when he was dreſſed to appear in public. If he made an excurſion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always bare-footed, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold: and then the ſoldiers uſed to laugh, and ſay, "It is a ſign of a ſharp winter; Phocion has got "his clothes on."

He was one of the moſt humane and beſt-tempered men in the world, and yet he had ſo ill-natured and forbidding a look, that ſtrangers were afraid to addreſs him without company. Therefore when Chares the orator obſerved to the Athenians, what terrible brows Phocion had, and they could not help making themſelves merry, he ſaid, "This "brow of mine never gave one of you an hour of ſorrow; "but the laughter of theſe ſneerers has coſt their country "many a tear." In like manner, though the meaſures he propoſed were happy ones, and his councils of the moſt ſalutary kind, yet he uſed no flowers of rhetoric; his ſpeeches were conciſe, commanding, and ſevere. For, as Zeno ſays, that a philoſopher ſhould never let a word come out of his mouth that is not ſtrongly tinctured with ſenſe; ſo Phocion's oratory contained the moſt ſenſe in the feweſt words. And it ſeems that Polyeuctus the Sphettian had this in view, when he ſaid, "Demoſthenes "was the better orator, and Phocion the more perſuaſive "ſpeaker." His ſpeeches were to be eſtimated like coins, not for the ſize, but for the intrinſic value. Agreeably to which, we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was obſerved behind the ſcenes, wrapt up in thought, when one of his friends took occaſion to ſay, "What! at your meditations! Phocion?" "Yes," ſaid he, "I am conſidering whether I cannot ſhorten

"what I have to say to the Athenians." And Demosthenes, who despised the other orators, when Phocion got up, used to say, softly to his friends, "Here comes the "pruner of my periods." But perhaps this is to be ascribed to the excellence of his character, since a word or a nod from a person revered for his virtue, is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of other men.

In his youth he served under Chabrias, then commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained much military knowledge by him. In some degree too he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven. For that general, though at other times scarce any thing could move him, in time of action was violent, and exposed his person with a boldness ungoverned by discretion. At last it cost him his life, when he made it a point to get in before the other gallies to the Isle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of sword. Phocion, whose prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too slow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly when he was unseasonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he assigned him commissions and enterprises of great importance, which raised him to the notice of the Greeks. Particularly in the sea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the squadron on the left, where the action was hottest, had a fine opportunity to distinguish himself, and he made such use of it, that victory soon declared for the Athenians: and as this was the first victory they had gained at sea, in a dispute with Greeks, since the taking of their city, they expressed the highest regard for Chabrias, and began to consider Phocion as a person in whom they should one day find an able commander. This battle was won during the celebration of the great mysteries, and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the sixteenth day of September.

Some time after this, Chabrias sent Phocion to the islands, to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty sail. But Phocion said, "If you send me against "enemies, such a fleet is too small; if to friends, one "ship is sufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addressing himself to the cities and magistrates in an open and humane manner, he succeeded so well, as to

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return with a number of ships which the allies fitted out, and at the same time put their respective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but, after his death, continued his attentions to all that belonged to him. With his son Ctesippus he took peculiar pains, to form him to virtue; and though he found him very stupid and untractable, yet he still laboured to correct his errors, as well as to conceal them. Once, indeed, his patience failed him. In one of his expeditions the young man was so troublesome with unseasonable questions, and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general, that at last he cried out, "O Chabrias, Chabrias! what "a return do I make thee for thy favours, in bearing with "the impertinences of thy son."

He observed, that those who took upon them the management of public affairs, made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they shared as it were by lot. Pursuant to this division, Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, addressed the people from the rostrum, and proposed new edicts; while Diopithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, raised themselves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion chose rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators, but as generals; for he thought their pain more complete; each of those great men (to use the words of Archilochus) appearing justly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the muse:

and he knew that the tutelar goddess of Athens was equally the patroness of arts and arms.

Formed upon these models, peace and tranquillity were the great objects he had always in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any person, either of his own, or of the preceding times. Not that he courted, or even applied for the command; but he did not decline it, when called to that honour by his country. It is certain, he was elected general no less than five-and-forty times, without once attending the election; being always appointed in his absence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of shallow understanding were surprised that the people should set such a value on Phocion, who generally op-

poſed their inclinations, and never ſaid or did any thing with a view to recommend himſelf. For, as princes divert themſelves at their meals with buffoons and jeſters, ſo the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable addreſs of their orators by way of entertainment only; but when the queſtion was concerning ſo important a buſineſs as the command of their forces, they returned to ſober and ſerious thinking, and ſelected the wiſeſt citizen and the man of the ſevereſt manners, who had combated their capricious humours and deſires the moſt. This he ſcrupled not to avow; for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the aſſembly, importing "That the reſt of the "Athenians were unanimous in their opinions, and that "there was only one man who diſſented from them," Phocion ſtepped up and told them, "They need not give "themſelves any trouble in inquiring for this refractory "citizen, for he was the man who liked not any thing "they did." And another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with univerſal applauſe, he turned to his friends, and ſaid, "Have I inadvertently let ſome bad thing ſlip from me?"

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charge of a public ſacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the reſt: but he bade them apply to the rich: "I ſhould "be aſhamed," ſaid he, "to give you any thing, and not to "pay this man what I owe him;" pointing to the uſurer Callicles. And as they continued very clamorous and teazing, he told them this tale.—"A cowardly fellow "once reſolved to make a campaign; but when he was "ſet out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid down "his arms and ſtopped. When the firſt alarm was a little "over, he marched again. The ravens renewed their "croaking, and then he made a full ſtop, and ſaid, You "may croak your hearts out if you pleaſe, but you ſhall "not taſte my carcaſe."

The Athenians once inſiſted on his leading them againſt the enemy, and when he refuſed, they told him, nothing could be more daſtardly and ſpiritleſs than his behaviour. He anſwered, "You can neither make me valiant, nor "can I make you cowards: however, we know one an"other very well."

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous ſituation, the people were greatly exaſperated againſt him, and demanded

manded an immediate account of his conduct. Upon which, he only said, "My good friends, first get out of "your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive, and it was not till after peace was made, that they began to talk in a vaunting manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion, he had robbed them of the victory which was in their hands, he said, "It is happy for you, that you have "a general who knows you; otherwise you would have "been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Bœotians, which they refused to settle by treaty, and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said, "Good people, keep to the method "in which you have the advantage; and that is talking, "not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refused to give him the hearing. But he said, "Though "you can make me act against my judgment, you shall "never make me speak so."

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happening to say, "The Athenians will certainly kill "thee, Phocion, some time or other;" he answered, "They may kill *me*, if they are mad, but it will be you, "if they are in their senses."

When Polyeuctus, the Sphettian, advised the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot, and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath, and perspired so violently, that he was forced to take several draughts of cold water, before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in such a condition, thus addressed the assembly—"You have great reason to pass an edict "for the war upon this man's recommendation. For what "are you not to expect from him, when loaded with a suit "of armour, he marches against the enemy, if in deli-"vering to you (peaceable folks) a speech which he had "composed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffocated."

Lycurgus the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly, and, among the rest, observed, that when Alexander demanded ten * of

* For πολιτων we should here read πολιτικων, as, a little above, we should read πολιτικων instead of πολιτων. That they were orators, which Alexander demanded, appears from Demosthenes, p. 430, 2.

their orators, Phocion gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould be delivered to him. "It is true," ſaid Phocion, "I have given the people of Athens much good counſel, "but they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconiſtes, by letting his beard grow long, in the Lacedemonian manner, wearing a thread-bare cloak, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his aſſertions much contradicted in the aſſembly, called upon this man to ſupport the truth and rectitude of what he had ſaid. Archibiades, however, ranged himſelf on the people's ſide, and adviſed what he thought agreeable to them. Then Phocion, taking him by the beard, ſaid, "What is all this heap of hair for? "Cut it, cut it off."

Ariſtogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and preſſed them much to declare war. But when the liſts came to be made out of thoſe that were to ſerve, this ſwaggerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion, as he ſate upon the buſineſs, ſeeing him at ſome diſtance in this form, called out to his ſecretary, "to put down Ariſtogi-"ton a cripple and a coward."

All theſe ſayings have ſomething ſo ſevere in them, that it ſeems ſtrange that a man of ſuch auſtere and unpopular manners, ſhould ever get the ſurname of the *Good*. It is, indeed, difficult, but, I believe, not impoſſible, for the ſame man to be both rough and gentle, as ſome wines are both ſweet and ſour: and, on the other hand, ſome men who have a great appearance of gentleneſs in their temper, are very harſh and vexatious to thoſe who have to do with them. In this caſe, the ſaying of Hyperides, to the people of Athens, deſerves notice; "Examine not whether "I am ſevere upon you, but whether I am ſo for my own "ſake." As if it were avarice only that makes a miniſter odious to the people, and the abuſe of power to the purpoſes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge, did not make a man equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himſelf againſt any man in his private capacity, or conſidered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly ſevere againſt every man who oppoſed his motions and deſigns for the public good. His behaviour in other reſpects was liberal, benevolent, and humane; the unfortunate he was always ready to aſſiſt,

and

and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends, one day, finding fault with him for appearing in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it, he said, "The good have no need of an ad-"vocate." Aristogiton, the informer, being condemned, and committed to prison, begged the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he hearkened to his application. His friends dissuaded him from it, but he said, "Let me alone, good people. Where can one rather wish "to speak to Aristogiton than in a prison."

When the Athenians sent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and islands in alliance with that people, looked upon every such commander as an enemy; they strengthened their walls, shut up their harbours, and conveyed the cattle, the slaves, the women, and children, out of the country into the cities. But when Phocion had the command, the same people went out to meet him in their own ships, with chaplets on their heads and every expression of joy, and in that manner conducted him into their cities.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Eubœa, and for that purpose sent in forces from Macedon, as well as practised upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Hereupon, Plutarch of Eretria called in the Athenians, and entreated them to rescue the island out of the hands of the Macedonians: in consequence of which, they sent Phocion at first with a small body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately rise and join him. But when he came, he found nothing among them but treasonable designs and disaffection to their own country, for they were corrupted by Philip's money. For this reason he seized an eminence * separated from the plains of Tamynæ by a deep defile, and in that post he secured the best of his troops. As for the disorderly, the talkative and cowardly part of the soldiers, if they attempted to desert and steal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go. "For," said he, "if they stay here, such "is their want of discipline, that, instead of being ser-"viceable, they will be prejudicial in time of action; and, "as they will be conscious to themselves of flying from

* Instead of αποκρυπτομενον here in the text, we should read αποκεκομμενον. So says Du Soul: but we think αποκυπτομενον *sloping* or *sloped*, which is nearer the text, is more likely to be the true reading.

" their colours, we ſhall not have ſo much noiſe and ca-
" lumny from them in Athens."

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to ſtand to their arms, but not attempt any thing, till he had made an end of his ſacrifice: and, whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not eaſily find the auſpicious tokens, or was deſirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. Mean while Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irreſolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry ſeeing him in motion, could wait no longer, but advanced againſt the enemy, though in a ſcattered and diſorderly manner, as they happened to iſſue out of the camp. The firſt line being ſoon broken, all the reſt diſperſed, and Plutarch himſelf fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the entrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, ſuppoſing that the fate of the day was decided. But at that inſtant Phocion had finiſhed his ſacrifice, and the Athenians ſallying out of the camp, fell upon the aſſailants, routed them, and cut moſt of them in pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover ſuch as were diſperſed in the firſt attack, while he, with a ſelect party went and charged the enemy. A ſharp conflict enſued, both ſides behaving with great ſpirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus, the ſon of Cineas and Glaucus, the ſon of Polymedes, who fought near the general's perſon, diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt. Cleophanes, too, did great ſervice in the action; for he rallied the cavalry, and brought them up again, by calling after them, and inſiſting that they ſhould come to the aſſiſtance of their general, who was in danger. They returned, therefore, to the charge, and by the aſſiſtance which they gave the infantry, ſecured the victory.

Phocion, after the battle, drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himſelf maſter of Zaretra, a fort advantageouſly ſituated where the iſland draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each ſide by the ſea. He did not chooſe, in purſuance of his victory, to take the Greeks priſoners, leſt the Athenians, influenced by their orators, ſhould, in the firſt motions of reſentment, paſs ſome unequitable ſentence upon them.

After this great ſucceſs, he ſailed back to Athens. The allies ſoon found the want of his goodneſs and juſtice, and the Athenians ſaw his capacity and courage in a clear light.

For

For Moloſſus, who ſucceeded him, conducted the war ſo ill, as to fall himſelf into the enemy's hands. Philip, now riſing in his deſigns and hopes, marched to the Helleſpont with all his forces, in order to ſeize at once on the Cherſoneſus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to ſend ſuccours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commiſſion to Chares. Accordingly he ſailed to thoſe parts, but did nothing worthy of ſuch a force as he was intruſted with. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but, ſuſpected by all, he beat about, raiſing contributions where he could upon the allies, and, at the ſame time, was deſpiſed by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other ſide, exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they repented of having ſent any ſuccours to the Byzantians. Then Phocion roſe up, and told them, "They "ſhould not be angry at the ſuſpicions of the allies, but "at their own generals, who deſerved not to have any "confidence placed in them. For on their account," ſaid he, "you are looked upon with an eye of jealouſy, by the "very people who cannot be ſaved without your aſſiſt-"ance." This argument had ſuch an effect on them, that they changed their minds again, and bade Phocion go himſelf with another armament to the ſuccour of the allies upon the Helleſpont.

This contributed more than any thing to the ſaving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation was already great: beſides, Cleon, a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer let him encamp without, but opening their gates received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians; who, charmed with this confidence, were not only eaſy with reſpect to proviſions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themſelves with great ſpirit in every action. By theſe means Philip was forced to retire from the Helleſpont, and he ſuffered not a little in his military reputation; for until then he had been deemed invincible. Phocion took ſome of his ſhips and recovered ſeveral cities which he had garriſoned; and making deſcents in various parts of his territories, he haraſſed and ravaged the flat country. But at laſt, happening to be wounded by a party that made head againſt him, he weighed anchor, and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarenſians applied to him privately for aſſiſtance; and as he was afraid the matter would get air, and the Bœotians would prevent him, he aſſembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no ſooner given their ſanction to the propoſal, than he ordered the trumpets to ſound, as a ſignal for them to arm; after which he marched immediately to Megara, where he was received with great joy. The firſt thing he did was to fortify Niſæa, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a ſafe communication with the ſea, and having now little to fear from the enemy on the landſide, was ſecured in the Athenian intereſt.

The Athenians being now clearly in a ſtate of hoſtility with Philip, the conduct of the war was committed to other generals, in the abſence of Phocion. But, on his return from the Iſlands, he repreſented to the people, that, as Philip was peaceably diſpoſed, and apprehenſive of the iſſue of the war, it was beſt to accept the conditions he had offered. And when one of thoſe public Barreters, who ſpend their whole time in the court of Heliæa, and make it their buſineſs to form impeachments, oppoſed him, and ſaid, "Dare you Phocion, pretend to diſſuade the Athenians from war, now the ſword is drawn?" "Yes," ſaid he, "I dare; though I know thou wouldſt be in my power in time of war, and I ſhall be in thine in time of peace." Demoſthenes, however, carried it againſt him for war, which he adviſed the Athenians to make at the greateſt diſtance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occaſion to ſay, "My good friend, conſider not ſo much where we ſhall fight, as how we ſhall conquer. For victory is the only thing that can keep the war at a diſtance: if we are beaten, every danger will ſoon be at our gates."

The Athenians did loſe the day: after which, the moſt factious and troubleſome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the huſtings, and inſiſted that he ſhould have the command. This alarmed the real wellwiſhers to their country ſo much, that they called in the members of the Areopagus to their aſſiſtance; and it was not without many tears, and the moſt earneſt entreaties that they prevailed upon the aſſembly to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion.

He

He was of opinion, that the other propoſals of Philip ſhould be readily accepted, becauſe they ſeemed to be dictated by humanity; but when Demades moved that Athens ſhould be comprehended in the general peace, and, as one of the ſtates of Greece, ſhould have the ſame terms with the other cities, Phocion ſaid, "It ought not to be agreed "to, till it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were againſt him, however, and he was over-ruled. And when he ſaw the Athenians repented afterwards, becauſe they found themſelves obliged to furniſh Philip both with ſhips of war, and cavalry, he ſaid, "This was the "thing I feared; and my oppoſition was founded upon it. "But ſince you have ſigned the treaty, you muſt bear its "inconveniencies without murmuring or deſpondence; "remembering that your anceſtors ſometimes gave law to "their neighbours, and ſometimes were forced to ſubmit, "but did both with honour; and by that means ſaved "themſelves and all Greece."

When the news of Philip's death was brought to Athens, he would not ſuffer any ſacrifices or rejoicings to be made on that account. "Nothing," ſaid he, "could ſhow "greater meanneſs of ſpirit, than expreſſions of joy on the "death of an enemy. What great reaſon, indeed, is there "for it, when the army you fought with at Cheronæa, is "leſſened only by one man."

Demoſthenes gave into invectives againſt Alexander, when he was marching againſt Thebes; the ill policy of which Phocion eaſily perceived, and ſaid,

"What boots the godlike giant to provoke,
"Whoſe arm may ſink us at a ſingle ſtroke *?"

POPE, Odyſſ. 9.

"When you ſee ſuch a dreadful fire near you, would you "plunge Athens into it? For my part, I will not ſuffer "you to ruin yourſelves, though your inclinations lie that "way; and to prevent every ſtep of that kind is the end "I propoſed in taking the command."

When Alexander had deſtroyed Thebes, he ſent to the Athenians, and demanded that they ſhould deliver up to him Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus.

* Theſe words are addreſſed to Ulyſſes by his companions, to reſtrain him from provoking the giant, Polyphemus, after they were eſcaped out of his cave, and got on board their ſhip.

The whole assembly cast their eyes upon Phocion, and called upon him often by name. At last he rose up; and placing by him one of his friends, who had the greatest share in his confidence and affection, he expressed himself as follows: "The persons whom Alexander demands, have "brought the commonwealth into such miserable circum-"stances, that if he demanded even my friend Nicocles, I "should vote for delivering him up. For my own part, "I should think it the greatest happiness to die for you "all. At the same time, I am not without compassion "for the poor Thebans who have taken refuge here: but "it is enough for Greece to weep for Thebes, without "weeping for Athens too. The best measure, then, we "can take is, to intercede with the conqueror for both, "and by no means to think of fighting."

The first decree drawn up in consequence of these deliberations, Alexander is said to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies: but the second he received, because it was brought by Phocion, who, as his old counsellors informed him, stood high in the esteem of his father Philip. He, therefore, not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his request, but even listened to his counsel. Phocion advised him, "If tranquillity "was his object, to put an end to his wars; if glory, to "leave the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms against the "barbarians." In the course of their conference, he made many observations so agreeable to Alexander's disposition and sentiments, that his resentment against the Athenians was perfectly appeased, and he was pleased to say, "The "people of Athens must be very attentive to the affairs "of Greece; for, if any thing happens to me, the su-"preme direction will devolve upon them." With Phocion in particular he entered into obligations of friendship and hospitality, and did him greater honours than most of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris tells us, that after that prince was risen to superior greatness by the conquest of Darius, and had left out the word *chairein*, the common form of salutation in his address to others, he still retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody besides, except Antipater. Chares asserts the same.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he sent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the persons employed in that commission,

miſſion, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, he "ſhould be ſingled out as the object of ſuch bounty?" "Becauſe," ſaid they, "Alexander looks upon you as the "only honeſt and good man." "Then," ſaid Phocion, "let "him permit me always to retain that character, as well as "really to be that man." The convoys then went home with him, and when they ſaw the frugality that reigned there, his wife baking bread, himſelf drawing water, and afterwards waſhing his own feet, they urged him the more to receive the preſent. They told him, "It gave them real "uneaſineſs, and was indeed an intolerable thing, that the "friend of ſo great a prince ſhould live in ſuch a wretch-"ed manner." At that inſtant, a poor old man happening to paſs by, in a mean garment, Phocion aſked the envoys, "Whether they thought worſe of him than of that "man?" As they begged of him not to make ſuch a compariſon, he rejoined, "Yet that man lives upon leſs "than I do, and is contented. In one word, it will be "to no purpoſe for me to have ſo much money, if I do "not uſe it; and if I was to live up to it, I ſhould bring "both myſelf, and the king your maſter, under the cenſure "of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole tranſaction was a good leſſon to the Greeks, *That the man who did not want ſuch a ſum of money, was richer than he who could beſtow it.*

Diſpleaſed at the refuſal of his preſent, Alexander wrote to Phocion, "That he could not number thoſe among his "friends, who would not receive his favours." Yet Phocion even then would not take the money. However, he deſired the king to ſet at liberty Echecratides the ſophiſt, and Athenodorus the Imbrian, as alſo Demaratus and Sparto, two Rhodians, who were taken up for certain crimes, and kept in cuſtody at Sardis. Alexander granted his requeſt immediately; and afterwards, when he ſent Craterus into Macedonia, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of theſe four cities in Aſia, Cios, Gergithus, Mylaſſa, or Elæa. At the ſame time he was to aſſure him, that the king would be much more diſobliged, if he refuſed this ſecond offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died ſoon after.

Phocion's houſe is ſhown to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with ſome plates of copper, but otherwiſe plain and homely.

Of

Of his first wife we have no account, except that she was sister to Cephisodotus the statuary. The other was a matron, no less celebrated among the Athenians for her modesty, prudence, and simplicity of manners, than Phocion himself was for his probity. It happened one day, when some new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to personate a queen, demanded a suitable mask (and attire), together with a large train of attendants, richly dress; and, as all these things were not granted him, he was out of humour, and refused to make his appearance; by which means the whole business of the theatre was at a stand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, pushed him in, and said, "Thou seest the wife of Phocion appear in "public with one maid servant only, and dost thou come "here to show thy pride and to spoil our women?" As Melanthius spoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he said with a thunder of applause. When this second wife of Phocion entertained in her house an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady showed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them. Upon which, the good matron said, "Phocion is my ornament, who is "now called the twentieth time to the command of the "Athenian armies."

The son of Phocion was ambitious of trying his skill in the games of the *panathenæa* *, and his father permitted him to make the trial, on condition that it was in the foot races: not that he set any value upon the victory, but he did it that the preparations and previous exercise might be of service to him; for the young man was of a disorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance desired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houses; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the house, he saw every thing prepared in the most extravagant manner, and, among the rest, that wine mingled with spices was provided for washing the feet of the guests. He therefore called his son to him, and said, "Phocus, why do you suffer your friend thus to sully "the honour of your † victory?"

* See the life of Theseus.

† The victory was obtained by means of abstemiousness and laborious exercise, to which such indulgences were quite contrary.

In order to correct in his ſon entirely that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedemon, and put him among the young men who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient diſcipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, becauſe it ſhowed in what contempt he held the manners and cuſtoms of his own country. Demades, one day, ſaid to him, "Why do not we, Phocion, perſuade the people to adopt the Spartan form of government? If you chooſe it, I will propoſe a decree for it, and ſupport it in the beſt manner I am able." "Yes indeed," ſaid Phocion, "it would become you much with all thoſe perfumes about you, and that pride of dreſs, to launch out in praiſe of Lycurgus and the Lacedemonian frugality."

Alexander wrote to the Athenians for a ſupply of ſhips, and the orators oppoſing it, the ſenate aſked Phocion his opinion. "I am of opinion," ſaid he, "that you ſhould either have the ſharpeſt ſword, or keep upon good terms with thoſe who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he firſt began to ſpeak in public, had a torrent of words, and the moſt conſummate aſſurance. Upon which, Phocion ſaid, "Is it for thee to prate ſo, who art but a novice amongſt us?"

When Harpalus had traitorouſly carried off Alexander's treaſures from Babylon, and came with them from Aſia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked to him, in hopes of ſharing in the ſpoil. He gave theſe ſome ſmall taſte of his wealth, but to Phocion he ſent no leſs than ſeven hundred talents; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him into his protection. But his meſſengers found a diſagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that "Harpalus ſhould repent it, if he continued thus to corrupt the city." And the traitor, dejected at his diſappointment, ſtopped his hand. A few days after a general aſſembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who had taken his money, in order to exculpate themſelves, accuſed him to the people; while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to ſerve him, as far as might be conſiſtent with the public good. Harpalus, therefore, paid his court to him again, and took every method to ſhake his integrity, but he found the fortreſs on all ſides impregnable. Afterwards he applied to Charicles, Phocion's ſon-in-law, and his ſucceſs with him gave juſt cauſe

of

of offence; for all the world saw how intimate he was with him, and that all his business went through his hands. Upon the death of his mistress Pythionice, who had brought him a daughter, he even employed Charicles to get a superb monument built for her, and for that purpose furnished him with vast sums. This commission, dishonourable enough in itself, became more so by the manner in which he acquitted himself of it. For the monument is still to be seen at Hermos, on the road between Athens and Eleusis; and there appears nothing in it answerable to the charge of thirty talents, which was the account that Charicles brought in *. After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianship, and educated her with great care. At last, Charicles was called to account by the public for the money he had recieved of Harpalus; and he desired Phocion to support him with his interest, and to appear with him in the court. But Phocion answered, "I made you my son-in-law only for just and "honourable purposes."

The first person that brought the news of Alexander's death, was Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus. Demades desired the people to give no credit to it; "For," said he, "if Alexander were dead, the whole world would smell "the carcase." And Phocion seeing the Athenians elated and inclined to raise new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators, however ascended the rostrum, and assured the people, that the tidings of Asclepiades were true: "Well then," said Phocion, "if "Alexander is dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow "and the day following; so that we may deliberate "on that event at our leisure, and take our measures with "safety."

When Leosthenes, by his intrigues, had involved Athens in the † Lamian war, and saw how much Phocion was displeased at it, he asked him in a scoffing manner, "What "good he had done his country, during the many years "that

* Yet Pausanias says, it was one of the completest and most curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it stood on the other side of the river Cephisus.

† In the original it is the *Grecian* war: and it might, indeed, be so called, because it was carried on by the Grecian confederates against the Macedonians. But it was commonly called the *Lamian* war, from Antipater's being defeated, and shut up in Lamia. The Bœotions were the only nation which did not join the Grecian league. DIODOR. Sic. lib. xviii.

" that he was general?" " And doſt thou think it nothing, " then," ſaid Phocion, " for the Athenians to be buried in " the ſepulchres of their anceſtors?" As Leoſthenes continued to harangue the people in the moſt arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion ſaid, " Young man, your " ſpeeches are like cypreſs trees, large and lofty, but " without fruit." Hyperides roſe up and ſaid, " Tell us " then, what will be the proper time for the Athenians to " go to war?" Phocion anſwered, " I do not think it " adviſeable, till the young men keep within the bounds " of order and propriety, the rich become liberal in their " contributions, and the orators forbear robbing the " public,"

Moſt people admired the forces raiſed by Leoſthenes; and when they aſked Phocion his opinion of them, he ſaid, " † I like them very well for a ſhort race, but I dread " the conſequence of a long one. The ſupplies, the ſhips, " the ſoldiers, are all very good; but they are the laſt we " can produce." The event juſtified his obſervation. Leoſthenes at firſt gained great reputation by his atchievements; for he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this occaſion the Athenians, borne upon the tide of hope, ſpent their time in mutual entertainments, and in ſacrifices to the Gods. Many of them thought, too, they had a fine opportunity to play upon Phocion, and aſked him, " Whether he " ſhould not have wiſhed to have done ſuch great things?" " Certainly I ſhould," ſaid Phocion; " but ſtill I ſhould " adviſe not to have attempted them." And when letters and meſſengers from the army came one after another, with an acount of farther ſucceſs, he ſaid, " When ſhall " we have done conquering?"

Leoſthenes died ſoon after; and the party which was for continuing the war, fearing that if Phocion were elected general, he would be for putting an end to it, inſtructed a man that was little known, to make a motion in the aſſembly, importing, " That, as an old friend and ſchool- " fellow of Phocion, he deſired the people to ſpare him, " and preſerve him for the moſt preſſing occaſions, be- " cauſe

† Or rather, " I think they may run very well from the ſtarting " poſt to the extremity of the courſe; but I know not how they will " hold it back again." The Greeks had two ſorts of races; the *ſtadium*, in which they ran only right out to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran right out, and then back again.

" cauſe there was not another man in their dominions to " be compared to him." At the ſame time he was to recommend Antipilus for the command. The Athenians embracing the propoſal, Phocion ſtood up and told them, " He never was that man's ſchool fellow, nor had he any " acquaintance with him; but from this moment," ſaid he, " turning to him, I ſhall number thee among my beſt " friends, ſince thou haſt adviſed what is moſt agreeable " to me."

The Athenians were ſtrongly inclined to proſecute the war with the Bœotians, and Phocian at firſt as ſtrongly oppoſed it. His friends repreſented to him, that this violent oppoſition of his would provoke them to put him to death. " They may do it, if they pleaſe," ſaid he: " It " will be unjuſtly, if I adviſe them for the beſt; but juſtly, " if I ſhould prevaricate." However, when he ſaw that they were not to be perſuaded, and that they continued to beſiege him with clamour, he ordered a herald to make proclamation, " That all the Athenians, who were not " more than ſixty years above the age of puberty, ſhould " take five days proviſions, and follow him immediately " from the aſſembly to the field."

This raiſed a great tumult, and the old men began to exclaim againſt the order, and to walk of. Upon which, Phocion ſaid, " Does this diſturb you, when I who am " fourſcore years old ſhall be at the head of you?" That ſhort remonſtrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a conſiderable corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the ſea coaſt and the adjacent country, Phocion advanced againſt him with a body of Athenians. On this occaſion a number of them were very impertinent in pretending to dictate or adviſe him how to proceed. One counſelled him to ſecure ſuch an eminence, another to ſend his cavalry to ſuch a poſt, and a third pointed out a place for a camp. " Heavens! ſaid Phocion, how many generals we have, " and how few ſoldiers!"

When

* Τους αχρι ἑξηκοντα ετων ἀφ' ἡβης has commonly been underſtood to mean *from fourteen to ſixty*; but it appears from the following paſſage, that it ſhould be underſtood as we have rendered it. Ὁ γαρ Αγησιλαος, ὡς ετη τεσσαρακοντα γεγονως ἀφ' ἡβης, και κρατιστος ἰσχυε ἀφεσιν ὑπο των νομων.

Vit. Ageſ. in Ed. Bryan, vol. iii. p. 396.

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but when he saw an enemy stepping out to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his post. Whereupon Phocion said, "Young "man, are not you ashamed to desert your station twice "in one day; that in which I had placed you, and that "in which you had placed yourself?" Then he immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general Micion. * The confederate army of the Greeks in Thessaly likewise defeated Antipater in a great battle, though Leonatus and the Macedonians from Asia had joined him. In this action Antiphilus commanded the foot, and Menon the Thessalian horse: Leonatus was among the slain.

Soon after this, Craterus passed over from Asia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought, in which the Greeks were worsted. The loss, indeed, was not great; and it was principally owing to the disobedience of the soldiers, who had young officers that did not exert a proper authority. But this, joined to the practices of Antipater upon the cities, made the Greeks desert the league, and shamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly towards Athens, Demosthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able, in any degree, to answer the fines that had been laid upon him; for he had been amerced seven times for proposing edicts contrary to law. He had also been declared infamous, and incapable of speaking in the assembly. But now finding himself at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambassadors should be sent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their present situation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man they could trust. Upon which he said, "If you had followed the counsel I gave "you, we should not have had now to deliberate on such "an

* There is a most egregious error here in the former English version: The translator makes Phocion fight the Greeks, his own confederates, in Thessaly. Το δε Ἑλληνικον εν Θετταλια στρατευμα, συμμιξαντος Αντιπατρου Λεοννατου, και των εξ Ασιας Μακεδονων, τοτε παραγομενων. This he renders, *Afterwards he defeated the Grecian army that lay in Thessaly, wherein Leonnatus had joined himself with Antipater and the Macedonians that newly came out of Asia.* Thus *Phocion* is mistaken for the nominative case to τοτε, whereas Ελληνικον στρατευμα is plainly the nominative.

"an affair." Thus the decree paſſed, and Phocion was diſpatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in * Cadmea, and was preparing to enter Attica.

His firſt requiſition was, that Antipater would finiſh the treaty before he left the camp in which he then lay. Craterus ſaid, it was an unreaſonable demand; that they ſhould remain there to be troubleſome to their friends and allies, when they might ſubſiſt at the expence of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Let "us indulge Phocion ſo far." As to the conditions, he inſiſted that the Athenians ſhould leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leoſthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, which they agreed to out of neceſſity; and then returned to Thebes, with other ambaſſadors, the principal of which was Xenocrates the philoſopher. For the virtue and reputation of the latter were ſo great and illuſtrious, that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature ſo inſolent, ſavage, and ferocious, as not to feel ſome impreſſions of reſpect and reverence at the ſight of him. It happened, however, otherwiſe with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue; for he embraced the reſt with great cordiality, but would not even ſpeak to Xenocrates; which gave him occaſion to ſay, "Antipater does well in being aſhamed before me, and me "only, of his injurious deſigns againſt Athens."

Xenocrates afterwards attempted to ſpeak, but Antipater, in great anger, interrupted him and would not ſuffer him to proceed †. To Phocion's diſcourſe, however, he gave attention; and anſwered, that he would grant the Athenians peace, and conſider them as his friends, on the following

* Dacier, without any neceſſity, ſuppoſes that Plutarch uſes the word *Cadmea* for Bœotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being underſtood ſo; but it is plain from what follows, that Antipater then lay at Thebes, and probably in the cadmea or citadel.

† Yet he had behaved to him with great kindneſs, when he was ſent to ranſom the priſoners. Antipater, on that occaſion, took the firſt opportunity to invite him to ſupper; and Xenocrates anſwered in thoſe verſes of Homer, which Ulyſſes addreſſes to Circe, who preſſed him to partake of the delicacies ſhe had provided.—

Ill fits it me, whoſe friends are ſunk to beaſts,
To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feaſts.
Me wouldſt thou pleaſe? For them thy cares employ;
And them to me reſtore, and me to joy.

Antipater was ſo charmed with the happy application of theſe verſes, that he releaſed all the priſoners.

following conditions.—"In the first place," said he, "they "must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hyperides. In "the next place, they must put their government on the "ancient footing, when none but the rich were advanced "to the great offices of state. A third article is, that they "must receive a garrison into Munychia: And a fourth, "that they must pay the expences of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these conditions. That philosopher said, "Antipater deals favourably with us, if he considers us as "slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us as freemen." Phocion begged for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to have answered, "Phocion, "we will grant thee every thing, except what would be "the ruin of both us and thee." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whether, if he excused the Athenians, as to the garrison, he would undertake for their "observing the other articles, and raising no new commotions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, a violent man, and an enemy to popular government, started up and said, "Antipater, "why do you suffer this man to amuse you? If he should "give you his word, would you depend upon it, and not "abide by your first resolutions?

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus, a man of great moderation, and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs *. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time the garrison entered; which was the twentieth of the month September †, when they were celebrating the great mysteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances they saw in the ceremonies gave many of the people occasion to reflect on the difference of the divine dispensations with respect to Athens in the present and in ancient times.

* Our author in this place seems to be out of his politics, though in general a very able and refined politician. For what but a garrison could have supported an oligarchy among a nation so much in love with popular government, or have restrained them from taking up arms the first opportunity?

† Bedromion.

times. "Formerly," said they, "mystic visions were seen, "and voices heard, to the great happiness of the re-"public, and the terror and astonishment of our enemies. "But now, during the same ceremonies, the gods look "without concern upon the severest misfortunes that "can happen to Greece, and suffer the holiest, and what "was once the most agreeable time in the year, to be "profaned, and rendered the date of our greatest ca-"lamities."

A few years before, the Athenians had recieved an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to secure the promontories of Diana * against strangers. And about this time, upon washing the sacred fillets with which they bind the mystic beds, instead of the lively purple they used to have, they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private persons, which was washed in the same water, retained its former lustre. And as a priest was washing a pig in that part of the port called † *Cantharus*, a large fish seized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly: by which the gods plainly announced, that they would lose the lower parts of the city next the sea, and keep the upper.

The garrison commanded by Menyllus, did no sort of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty, from a share in the government, was upwards of twelve thousand. Such of these as remained in Athens, appeared to be in a state of misery and disgrace; and such as migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, assigned them by Antipater, looked upon themselves as no better than a conquered people transported into a foreign country.

The death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleonæ, of which we have given an account in another place, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a regret which seemed almost inspired by affection.

* Supposed to be poetically so called, because mountainous places and forests were sacred to that goddess. At least, we know of no promontories in Attica that went under that name.

† In the text it is εν καθαρω λιμενι, *in a clean part of the harbour*. But we choose to receive the correction which Florent. Christian has given us in his notes upon Aristophanes's comedy called *Peace*. There were three havens in the Piræus the principal of which was called *Cantharus*. The passage in Aristophanes is this:

Εν πειραιω δη πουτι κανθαρου λιμην.

affection *. The caſe was the ſame with them now, as it was with the countryman afterwards upon the death of Antigonus. Thoſe who killed that prince, and reigned in his ſtead, were ſo oppreſſive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peaſant, who was digging the ground, being aſked what he was ſeeking, ſaid, with a ſigh, "I am ſeeking for Antigonus." Many of the Athenians expreſſed equal concern, now, when they remembered the great and generous turn of mind in thoſe kings, and how eaſily their anger was appeaſed: whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the maſk of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to thoſe under his command; and, in fact, an oppreſſor and a tyrant. Yet, at the requeſt of Phocion, he recalled many perſons from exile; and to ſuch as he did not chooſe to reſtore to their own country, granted a commodious ſituation: for, inſtead of being forced to reſide, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tænarus, he ſuffered them to remain in Greece, and ſettle in Peloponneſus. Of this number was Agnonides the informer.

In ſome other inſtances he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a juſt and candid manner; raiſing the modeſt and the good to the principal employments; and excluding the uneaſy and the ſeditious from all offices; ſo that having no opportunity to excite troubles, the ſpirit of faction died away; and he taught them by little and little to love the country, and apply themſelves to agriculture. Obſerving one day that Xenocrates paid no tax as a ſtranger, he offered to make him a preſent of his freedom; but he refuſed it, and aſſigned this reaſon—"I will never be a member of that government, to prevent the eſtabliſhment of which I acted in a public character."

Menyllus was pleaſed to offer Phocion a conſiderable ſum of money. But he ſaid, "Neither is Menyllus a greater man than Alexander; nor have I greater reaſon to receive a preſent now, than I had then." The governor preſſed him to take it at leaſt for his ſon Phocus: but he anſwered, "If Phocus becomes ſober, his father's eſtate

* The cruel diſpoſition of Antipater, who had inſiſted upon Demoſthenes and Hyperides being given up to his revenge, made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable.

"estate will be sufficient for him; and if he continues "dissolute nothing will be so." He gave Antipater a more severe answer, when he wanted him to do something inconsistent with his probity. "Antipater," said he, "can-"not have me both for a friend and a flatterer." And Antipater himself used to say, "I have two friends in "Athens, Phocion and Demades; it is impossible either "to persuade the one to any thing, or to satisfy the other." Indeed, Phocion, had his poverty to show as a proof of his virtue; for, though he so often commanded the Athenian armies, and was honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence: whereas Demades paraded with his wealth even in instances that were contrary to law: for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should appear in the choruses upon the stage, under the penalty of a thousand *drachmas* to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment. Yet Demades, in his exhibition, produced none but foreigners; and he paid the thousand *drachmas* fine for each, though their number was a hundred. And when his son Demea was married, he said, "When I married your mother, the next neigh-"bour hardly knew it; but kings and princes contribute "to the expence of your nuptials."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather because he perceived that the people were more sober and submissive to government, under fear of that rod, he always declined the commission. The only thing that he asked and obtained of Antipater, was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be insisted on immediately, but a longer term granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not meddle with the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son took a journey to Macedonia. It should seem, his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness; and when Cassander, now absolute master of every thing, had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedonia, "which," he said, "hung only upon an old rotten "stalk;" so he contemptuously called Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him than he ordered him to be arrested

reſted; and firſt he killed his ſon before his eyes, and ſo near, that the blood ſpouted upon him, and filled his boſom; then, after having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs, he ſlew him likewiſe.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Caſſander the command of a thouſand men. But Caſſander, far from being ſatisfied with ſuch an appointment, haſtened to ſeize the ſupreme power, and immediately ſent Nicanor to take the command of the garriſon from Menyllus, and to ſecure Munychia before the news of his father's death got abroad. This ſcheme was carried into execution; and, a few days after, the Athenians being informed of the death of Antipater, accuſed Phocion of being privy to that event, and concealing it out of friendſhip to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himſelf no pain about it: on the contrary, he converſed familiarly with Nicanor; and, by his aſſiduities, not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inſpired him with an ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf by exhibiting games and ſhows to the people.

Meantime Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's * perſon was committed, in order to countermine Caſſander, wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That the king reſtored them their ancient form of "government;" according to which, all the people had a right to public employments. This was a ſnare he laid for Phocion. For, being deſirous of making himſelf maſter of Athens, (as ſoon appeared from his actions) he was ſenſible that he could not effect any thing while Phocion was in the way. He ſaw, too, that his expulſion would be no difficult taſk, when all who had been excluded from a ſhare in the adminiſtration were reſtored; and the orators and public informers were once more maſters of the tribunals.

As theſe letters raiſed great commotions among the people, Nicanor was deſired to ſpeak † to them on that ſubject in the Piræus; and, for that purpoſe, entered their aſſembly, truſting his perſon with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country,

* The ſon of Alexander who was yet very young.

† Nicanor knew that Polyperchon's propoſal to reſtore the democracy was merely a ſnare, and he wanted to make the Athenians ſenſible of it.

laid a ſcheme to ſeize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his deſign, guarded againſt it, and ſoon ſhowed that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Phocion then was blamed for letting him go when he had him in his hands: but he anſwered, "He could confide "in Nicanor's promiſes, and ſaw no reaſon to ſuſpect him "of any ill deſign. However," ſaid he, "be the iſſue what "it may, I had rather be found ſuffering than doing what "is unjuſt."

This anſwer of his, if we examine it with reſpect to himſelf only, will appear to be entirely the reſult of fortitude and honour: but, when we conſider that he hazarded the ſafety of his country, and, what is more, that he was general and firſt magiſtrate, I know not whether he did not violate a ſtronger and more reſpectable obligation. It is in vain to allege that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war; and for that reaſon would not ſeize the perſon of Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of juſtice and good faith, that Nicanor, by a grateful ſenſe of ſuch behaviour, might be prevailed upon to be quiet, and think of no injurious attempt againſt the Athenians. For the truth is, he had ſuch confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from ſeveral hands of his deſigns upon the Piræus, of his ordering a body of mercenaries to Salamis; and of his bribing ſome of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would give no credit to any of theſe things. Nay, when Philomedes, of the borough of Lampra, got an edict made, that all the Athenians ſhould take up arms, and obey the orders of Phocion, he took no care to act in purſuance of it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. Then Phocion would have led the Athenians againſt him: but, by this time, they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander, the ſon of Polyperchon, with an army, under pretence of aſſiſting the city againſt Nicanor; but, in reality to avail himſelf of its fatal diviſions, and to ſeize it, if poſſible, for himſelf. For the exiles who entered the town with him, the foreigners, and ſuch citizens as had been ſtigmatized as infamous, with other mean people, reſorted to him, and all together made up a ſtrange diſorderly aſſembly, by whoſe ſuffrages the command was taken from Phocion,

and

and other generals appointed. Had not Alexander been ſeen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated interviews, given the Athenians cauſe of ſuſpicion, the city could not have eſcaped the danger it was in. Immediately the orator Agnonides ſingled out Phocion, and accuſed him of treaſon; which ſo much alarmed Callimedon and Pericles *, that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with ſuch of his friends as did not forſake him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Platea, and Dinarchus of Corinth, who paſſed for the friends and confidents of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion, deſired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to ſtop many days at Elatea. In the mean time, Archeſtratus propoſed a decree, and Agnonides got it paſſed, that deputies ſhould be ſent to Polyperchon with an accuſation againſt Phocion.

The two parties came to Polyperchon at the ſame time, as he was upon his march with the king †, near Pharuges, a town of Phocis, ſituated at the foot of Mount Acroriam, now called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each ſide of him; and, before he proceeded to any other buſineſs, gave orders that Dinarchus ſhould be put to the torture, and afterwards diſpatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience. But, as they filled the place with noiſe and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accuſations to the council, Agnonides preſſed forwards and ſaid, "Put us all in one cage, and ſend us back to Athens, "to give account of our conduct there." The king laughed at the propoſal; but the Macedonians who attended on that occaſion, and the ſtrangers who were drawn thither by curioſity, were deſirous of hearing the cauſe; and therefore made ſigns to the deputies to argue the matter there. However, it was far from being conducted with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who at laſt was ſo provoked, that he ſtruck his ſtaff upon the ground, and would ſpeak no more. Hegemon

 ſaid,

* *Pericles* here looks like an erroneous reading. Afterwards we find not *Pericles*, but *Charicles*, mentioned along with Callimedon. Charicles was Phocion's ſon-in-law.

† This was Aridæus the natural ſon of Philip. After ſome of Alexander's generals had raiſed him to the throne for their own purpoſes, he took the name of Philip, and reigned ſix years and a few months.

ſaid, Polyperchon himſelf could bear witneſs to his affectionate regard for the people; and that general anſwered, "Do you come here to ſlander me before the king?" Upon this, the king ſtarted up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his ſpear; but Polyperchon prevented him; and the council broke up immediately.

The guards then ſurrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who, being at ſome diſtance, muffled themſelves up, and fled. Clitus carried the priſoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as perſons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing, made it a more melancholy ſcene. The priſoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus ſhut them up till the *Archons* had aſſembled the people. From this aſſembly, neither ſlaves, nor foreigners, nor perſons ſtigmatized as infamous, were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read; the purport of which was, "That he had "found the priſoners guilty of treaſon; but that he left it "to the Athenians, as freemen, who were to be go-"verned by their own laws, to paſs ſentence upon them."

At the ſame time Clitus preſented them to the people. The beſt of the citizens, when they ſaw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to ſay, "Since the king leaves the determination of ſo im-"portant a matter to the people, it would be proper to "command all ſlaves and ſtrangers to depart." But the populace, inſtead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to ſtone all the favour-"ers of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which, no one attempted to offer any thing in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permiſſion to ſpeak. At laſt, ſilence being made, he ſaid, "Do you deſign to take away my life, juſtly, or unjuſtly?" Some of them anſwering, "juſtly;" he ſaid, "How can "you know whether it will be juſtly, if you do not hear me "firſt?" As he did not find them inclinable in the leaſt to hear him, he advanced ſome paces foreward, and ſaid, "Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge I have done you "injuſtice; and for my faults in the adminiſtration, ad-

"judge

" judge myſelf guilty of death *; but why will you put " theſe men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made anſwer, " Becauſe they are friends to you." Upon which, he drew back, and reſigned himſelf quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare by their ſuffrages whether the priſoners appeared to be guilty or not; and, if they appeared ſo, they were to ſuffer death. When the decree was read, ſome called for an additional clauſe for putting Phocion to the torture before execution; and inſiſted, that the rack and its managers ſhould be ſent for immediately. But Agnonides, obſerving that Clitus was diſpleaſed at that propoſal, and looking upon it himſelf as a barbarous and deteſtable thing, ſaid, " When we take " that villain Callimedon, let us put him to the torture; " but indeed, my fellow-citizens, I cannot conſent that " Phocion ſhould have ſuch hard meaſure." Upon this, one of the better diſpoſed Athenians cried out, " Thou " art certainly right; for if we torture Phocion, what " muſt we do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the ſentence of death was propoſed: all the people gave their voices ſtanding; and ſome of them even crowned themſelves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of feſtivity. With Phocion, there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and ſome others, who were abſent, the ſame ſentence was paſſed upon them.

After the aſſembly was diſmiſſed, the convicts were ſent to priſon. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the ſame as when the people ſent him out to command their armies, and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmneſs and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along; and one of them even ſpit in his face: upon which, he turned to the magiſtrates, and ſaid, " Will nobody correct this " fellow's rudeneſs?" Thudippus, when he ſaw the execu-

* It was the cuſtom for the perſon accuſed to lay ſome penalty on himſelf. Phocion chooſe the higheſt, thinking it might be a means to reconcile the Athenians to his friends; but it had not that effect.

tioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to suffer unjustly on Phocion's account. "What, then!" said the venerable sage, "dost "thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him, whether he had any commands to his son? "Yes," said he, "by all means, tell him "from me, to forget the ill treatment I have had from "the Athenians." And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poison before him: "This," said he, "Nicocles, is a hard "request; and the thing must give me great uneasiness; "but since I have obliged you in every instance through "life, I will do the same in this."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not sufficient; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve *drachmas* paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said, "Since "one cannot die on free cost at Athens, give the man his "money." This execution was on the nineteenth day of *April* *, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears as they looked at the prison doors: all who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a most impious thing, not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so to have kept the city impolluted on the festival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica; not that any Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile. Therefore, no friend durst touch it: but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money carried the corps out of the territories of Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a *cenotaph* upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time she thus addressed the domestic gods, "Ye "guardians

* *Munychion.*

" guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains of " this good man. Do you reſtore them to the ſepulchre of " his anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall once more liſten " to the dictates of wiſdom."

The time was not long before the ſituation of their affairs taught them, how vigilant a magiſtrate, and how excellent a guardian of the virtues of juſtice and ſobriety, they had loſt. The people erected his ſtatue in braſs, and buried his remains at the public expence. Agnonides, his principal accuſer, they put to death, in conſequence of a decree for that purpoſe. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterwards fell into the hands of Phocion's ſon, who puniſhed them as they deſerved. This ſon of his was, in other reſpects, a worthleſs man. He was in love with a girl, who was in a ſtate of ſervitude, and belonged to a trader in ſuch matters; and happening one day to hear Theodorus the Atheiſt maintain this argument in the Lyceum, "That if it is no ſhame " to ranſom a friend, it is no ſhame to redeem a miſtreſs," the diſcourſe was ſo flattering to his paſſion, that he went immediately and releaſed his female friend *.

The proceedings againſt Phocion put the Greeks in mind of thoſe againſt Socrates. The treatment of both was equally unjuſt, and the calamities thence entailed upon Athens were perfectly ſimilar †.

CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its firſt luſtre and diſtinction from his great grandfather, Cato the cenſor ‡, a man whoſe virtue, as we have obſerved in his life, ranked him with perſons of the greateſt reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now ſpeaking was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio, and his ſiſter Porcia. He had alſo another ſiſter called

* It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their miſtreſſes out of ſuch ſhops, and, after they had releaſed them from ſervitude, to marry them.

† Socrates was put to death eighty two years before.

‡ Cato the cenſor, at a very late period in life, married Salonia, daughter of his own ſteward. There was a family, however, from that ſecond match, which flouriſhed when that which came from the firſt was extinct.

Servilia, but she was only sister by the mother's side *. The orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the administration; to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wisdom, and dignity of mind, excellencies that put him upon an equality with the best of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered, in his voice, his look, and his very diversions, a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor any thing else could move. He pursued every object he had in view with a vigour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those who were inclined to flatter were sure to meet with a severe repulse; and to those who attempted to intimidate him, he was still more untractable. Scarce any thing could make him laugh; and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not quickly or easily moved to anger; but it was difficult to appease his resentment when once excited.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; but what he had once learned he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories; but what is gained with labour and application is always retained the longest; for every hard-gained acquisition of science is a kind of annealing upon the mind †. The inflexibility of his disposition ‡ seems also to have retarded his progress in learning: for to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily who have the least power of resistance. Thus young men are more persuasible than the old, and the sick than such as are well; and, in general, assent is most easily gained from those who are least able to find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was commanded; only he would always inquire the reason, and ask why such a thing was enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor Sarpedon

* Servilia was not his only sister by the mother's side; there were three of them. One, the mother of Brutus, who killed Cæsar; another, married to Lucullus; and a third, to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, too, was his brother by the mother's side.

† Γινεται γαρ οἱον εκκαυμα της ψυκης, των μαθηματων ἑκαστον.

‡ Δυσπιστον, *slow to believe*, is the common reading; but Δυσπειστον, in which we are warranted by some manuscripts, is more suitable to what follows.

Sarpedon (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who choſe rather to govern by reaſon, than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, a man of great name as a ſoldier, and powerful among his people, had a friendſhip with Druſus, and lodged a long time in his houſe during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he ſaid to them one day, "Come, my "good children, deſire your uncle to aſſiſt us in our ſoli-"citation for the freedom." Cæpio ſmiled, and readily gave his promiſe; but Cato made no anſwer. And as he was obſerved to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the ſtrangers, Popedius continued, "And you, my little man, "what do you ſay? Will not you give your gueſts your "intereſt with your uncle, as well as your brother?" Cato ſtill refuſing to anſwer, and appearing by his ſilence and his looks inclined to deny the requeſt, Popedius took him to the window, and threatened, if he would not promiſe, to throw him out. This he did in a harſh tone, and at the ſame time gave him ſeveral ſhakes, as if he was going to let him fall. But as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or fear, Popedius ſet him down, and ſaid ſoftly to his friends, "This child is the "glory of Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that "we ſhould not get one vote among the people."

Another time, when a relation invited young Cato, with other children, to celebrate his birth-day, moſt of the children went to play together in a corner of the houſe. Their play was to mimic a court of juſtice *, where ſome were accuſed in form, and afterwards carried to priſon. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned, and ſhut up by a bigger boy, who acted as officer, in one of the apartments, called out on Cato; who, as ſoon as he underſtood what the matter was, ran to the door, and puſhing away thoſe who ſtood there as guards, and attempted to oppoſe him,

* Children's plays are often taken from what is moſt familiar to them. In other countries they are commonly formed upon trifling ſubjects, but the Roman children acted trials in the court of juſtice, the command of armies, triumphal proceſſions, and, in later times, the ſtate of emperors. Suetonius tells us that Nero commanded his ſon-in-law, Rufinus Criſpinus, the ſon of Popæa, a child, to be thrown into the ſea, becauſe he was ſaid to delight in plays of the laſt mentioned kind.

carried off the child, and went home in great anger; moſt of the children marching off with him.

Theſe things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary inſtance. When Sylla choſe to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy* *, and is conſidered as a ſacred exhibition, he ſelected two bands of young gentlemen, and aſſigned them two captains, one of which they readily accepted, on account of being the ſon of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they abſolutely rejected, and would not go out to exerciſe under him. Sylla then aſking them, "whom they would have," they unanimouſly cried Cato; and Sextus himſelf readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of ſuperior parts.

The friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between Sylla and the father of Cato induced him ſometimes to ſend for the young man and his brother Cæpio, and to talk familiarly with them; a favour which, by reaſon of his dignity, he conferred on very few. Sarpedon thinking ſuch an intercourſe a great advantage to his ſcholar, both in point of honour and ſafety, often took Cato to pay his reſpects to the dictator. Sylla's houſe at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; ſuch were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who now was in his fourteenth year, ſeeing the heads of many illuſtrious perſonages carried out, and obſerving that the by-ſtanders ſighed in ſecret at theſe ſcenes of blood, aſked his preceptor "Why ſomebody did not kill that man?" "Becauſe," ſaid he, "they fear him more than they hate "him." "Why then," ſaid Cato, "do not you give me a "ſword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country "from ſlavery?" When Sarpedon heard ſuch a ſpeech from the boy, and ſaw with what a ſtern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, to prevent his attempting ſome raſh action.

When he was but a child, he was aſked one day, "Whom "he loved moſt," and he anſwered "His brother." The perſon

* The invention of this game is generally aſcribed to Aſcanius. It was celebrated in the public *circus* by companies of boys, who were furniſhed with arms ſuitable to their ſtrength. They were taken, for the moſt part, out of the nobleſt families in Rome. See an excellent deſcription of it in Virgil, Æn. ver. 545, &c.

perſon who put the queſtion, then aſked him, "Whom he "loved next," and again he ſaid, "His brother!" "Whom "in the third place," and ſtill it was "His brother:" and ſo on, till he put no more queſtions to him about it. This affection increaſed with his years, inſomuch, that when he was twenty years old, if he ſupped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the *forum*, Cæpio muſt be with him. But he would not make uſe of perfumes, as Cæpio did; indeed the whole courſe of his life was ſtrict and auſtere; ſo that when Cæpio was ſometimes commended for his temperance and ſobriety, he would ſay, "I may have ſome claim to theſe virtues, when compared "with other men; but when I compare myſelf with Cato, "I ſeem a mere Sippius." Sippius was the name of a perſon remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the prieſthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his ſhare of the paternal eſtate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was ſo conſiderable, his manner of living was more frugal and ſimple than ever. He formed a particular connection with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philoſopher; and the knowledge he was the moſt ſtudious of acquiring, was the moral and the political. He was carried to every virtue with an impulſe like inſpiration; but his greateſt attachment was to juſtice, and juſtice of that ſevere and inflexible kind which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compaſſion *. He cultivated alſo that eloquence which is fit for popular aſſemblies; for as in a great city there ſhould be an extraordinary ſupply for war, ſo in the political philoſophy he thought there ſhould be a proviſion for troubleſome times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exerciſes of other young men. And when one of his friends ſaid, "Cato, the world "finds fault with your ſilence," he anſwered, "No mat"ter, ſo long as it does not find fault with my life. I "ſhall begin to ſpeak, when I have things to ſay that de"ſerve to be known."

In the public hall called the *porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his cenſorſhip, the tribunes of the people uſed

* Cicero, in his oration for Murena, gives us a fine ſatire upon thoſe maxims of the Stoics which Cato made the rule of his life, and which as he obſerves, were only fit to flouriſh within the portico.

to hold their court. And, as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they reſolved either to remove it to a diſtance, or to take it entirely away. This was the firſt thing that drew Cato to the *roſtra*, and even then it was againſt his inclination. However, he oppoſed the deſign effectually, and gave an admirable ſpecimen both of his eloquence and ſpirit. For there was nothing of youthful ſallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, ſenſible, and ſtrong. Nevertheleſs, amidſt the ſhort and ſolid turn of the ſentences, there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity which might be expected from his manners, there was ſomething of humour and raillery intermixed, which had an agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by ſuch a multitude of people, and his ſtrength was ſuch, that he often ſpoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cauſe, he returned to his former ſtudies and ſilence. To ſtrengthen his conſtitution, he uſed the moſt laborious exerciſe. He accuſtomed himſelf to go bareheaded in the hotteſt and coldeſt weather, and travelled on foot at all ſeaſons of the year. His friends who travelled with him, made uſe of horſes, and he joined ſometimes one, ſometimes another for converſation, as he went along. In time of ſickneſs, his patience and abſtinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he ſpent the whole day alone, ſuffering no perſon to approach him, till he found a ſenſible change for the better.

At entertainments, they threw dice for the choice of the meſſes; and if Cato loſt the firſt choice, his friends uſed to offer it him; but he always refuſed it—"Venus*," ſaid he, "forbids." At firſt he uſed to riſe from table after having drank once; but in proceſs of time he came to love drinking, and would ſometimes ſpend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excuſed him, by ſaying, "That "the buſineſs of the ſtate employed him all day, and left "him no time for converſation, and therefore he ſpent "his evenings in diſcourſe with the philoſophers." And, when one Memmius ſaid in company, "That Cato ſpent "whole nights in drinking;" Cicero retorted, "But you "cannot ſay that he ſpends whole days at play."

Cato

* The moſt favourable caſt upon the dice was called *Venus*. Horace alludes to it, ode vii. lib. 2.

Cato saw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and customs of his country, and for that reason he determined to go contrary to the corrupt fashions which then obtained. He observed (for instance) that the richest and most lively purple was the thing most worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner barefooted, and without his gown. Not that he affected to be talked of for that singularity; but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed at nothing but what was really shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world.

A great estate falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he turned it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and when any of his friends wanted to borrow a sum, he lent it them without interest. If he could not otherwise supply them, he suffered even his own land and slaves to be mortgaged for them to the treasury.

He knew no woman before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age to enter into that state, he set a treaty on foot with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, was then at liberty. However, before the marriage could take place, Scipio repented; and by the assiduity of his management and address, succeeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was desirous to go to law for redress; and, as his friends overruled him in that respect, youthful resentment put him upon writing some *iambics* against Scipio, which had all the keenness of Archilochus, without his obscenity and scurrility.

After this, he married Atilia the daughter of Soranus, who was the first, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this respect Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was * happier than he; for, in the course of a long life, he had only one wife, and no intercourse with any other woman.

In the *servile* war † (I mean that with Spartacus) Gellius was general; and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for the

* Plutarch seems to us to have spoken so feelingly of the happiness of the conjugal connection long continued with one affectionate wife, from his own experience.

† Seventy-one years before the Christian æra.

the ſake of his brother Cæpio, who was tribune; but he could not diſtinguiſh his vivacity and courage as he wiſhed, becauſe the war was ill conducted. However, amidſt the effeminacy and luxury which then prevailed in the army, he paid ſo much regard to diſcipline, and, when occaſion ſerved, behaved with ſo much ſpirit and valour, as well as coolneſs and capacity, that he appeared not in the leaſt inferior to Cato the cenſor. Gellius made him an offer of the beſt military rewards and honours; but he would not accept or allow of them; "For," ſaid he, "I have done "nothing to deſerve ſuch notice."

Theſe things made him paſs for a man of a ſtrange and ſingular turn. Beſides, when a law was made, that no man who ſolicited any office, ſhould take *nomenclator* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for when he applied for a tribune's commiſſion in the army, he had previouſly made himſelf maſter of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied even by thoſe who praiſed him. The more they conſidered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

With a tribune's commiſſion he was ſent into Macedonia, where Rubrius the prætor commanded. His wife, upon his departure, was in great diſtreſs, and we are told, that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, ſaid, "Take courage, Atilia; I will take care of your "huſband." "By all means," anſwered Cato. At the end of the firſt day's march, after they had ſupped, he ſaid, "Come, Munatius, that you may the better perform your "promiſe to Atilia, you ſhall not leave me either day or "night." In conſequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleaſant improvement upon the matter; for, as Munatius always ſlept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato that took care of him.

Cato had with him fifteen ſlaves, two freemen, and four of his friends. Theſe rode on horſeback, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them and converſed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which conſiſted of ſeveral legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this poſt, he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be diſtinguiſhed by his own virtue only; it was his ambition to make all the troops

troops that were under his care like himself. With this view, he leſſened nothing of that authority which might inſpire fear, but he called in the ſupport of reaſon to its aſſiſtance. By inſtruction and perſuaſion, as well as by rewards and puniſhments, he formed them ſo well, that it was hard to ſay whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more juſt. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a diſhonourable thing, and ambitious of honeſt praiſe.

Hence, though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in univerſal eſteem, and had entirely the hearts of his ſoldiers. For whatever he commanded others to do, he was the firſt to do himſelf. In his dreſs, his manner of living and marching, he reſembled the private ſoldier more than the officer; and at the ſame time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and ſtrength of eloquence, he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By theſe means he inſenſibly gained the affection of his troops. And, indeed, virtue does not attract imitation, except the perſon who gives the pattern is beloved, as well as eſteemed. Thoſe who praiſe good men without loving them, only pay a reſpect to their name, but do not ſincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamus a Stoic philoſopher, named Athenodorus, and ſurnamed Cordylio, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long reſiſted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendſhip and very conſiderable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or ſend any meſſenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of abſence for two months, he ſailed to Aſia, and applied to him in perſon, in confidence that his accompliſhments would carry his point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his converſation, he drew him from his purpoſes, and brought him with him to the camp; as happy and as proud of this ſucceſs, as if he had made a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit, than thoſe of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then ſubduing the provinces and kingdoms of the eaſt.

While

While he was with the army in Macedonia, he had notice by letter that his brother Cæpio was fallen sick at Ænus in Thrace. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel to be had. He ventured, however, to sail from Thessalonica, in a small passage-boat, with two friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio expired. On this occasion Cato showed the sensibility of a brother rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and besides these and other tokens of the greatest sorrow, he spent vast sums upon his funeral. The spices and rich robes that were burnt with him were very expensive, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the *forum* at Ænus, which cost no less than eight talents.

Some condemned these things as little agreeble to the modesty and simplicity which Cato professed in general; but they did not perceive that with all his firmness and inflexibility to the solicitations of pleasure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his nature. Many cities and princes sent presents of great value, to do honour to the obsequies, but he would not accept any thing in money. All that he would receive was spices and stuffs, and those too only on condition of paying for them.

He was left coheir with Cæpio's daughter, to his estate; But when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expences to her account. Yet, though he acted so honourably in that affair, and continued in the same upright path, there was one * who scrupled not to write, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being called to account for his pen, as well as for his sword!

Upon the expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wishes for his health and praises of his conduct, but with tears and the most affectionate embraces; the soldiers spread their garments in his way, and kissed his hands; instances of esteem which few generals met with from the Romans in those times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and see with his

* Julius Cæsar in his *Anticato*.

his own eyes the manners, cuſtoms, and ſtrength of every province. At the ſame time he was willing to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of the engagements of hoſpitality that he had entered into with his father, had given him a very preſſing invitation.

His manner of travelling was this. Early in the morning he ſent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the next night. Theſe entered the town in a very modeſt and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for him, and prepared his ſupper at an inn, without giving any one the leaſt trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magiſtrates for quarters, and were always ſatisfied with thoſe aſſigned them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's ſervants, but entirely diſregarded *, becauſe they came not to the magiſtrates in a clamorous and threatening manner; inſomuch that their maſter arrived before they could procure lodgings. It was worſe ſtill when Cato himſelf made his appearance, for the townſmen ſeeing him ſet down on the luggage without ſpeaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and daſtardly ſpirit. Sometimes, however, he would ſend for the magiſtrates, and ſay, "Wretches, why do not you learn a proper hoſpitality? "You will not find all that apply to you, Catos. Do not "then by your ill treatment give thoſe occaſion to exert "their authority, who only want a pretence to take from "you by violence, what you give with ſo much reluc-"tance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with an humourous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he ſaw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one ſide the way ſtood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their beſt attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns on their heads; theſe were the prieſts and the magiſtrates. Cato imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his ſervants, who were ſent before, for not preventing ſuch a compliment. Nevertheleſs, he deſired his friends to alight, and walked with them towards theſe Antiochians. When they were near enough to be ſpoken

* *Apparet ſervum hunc eſſe domini pauperis miſerique.* TERENT. *Eunuch.* iii. 2.

ſpoken to, the maſter of the ceremonies, an elderly man with a ſtaff and a crown in his hand, addreſſed himſelf firſt to Cato, and, without ſo much as ſaluting him, aſked "How far Demetrius was behind; and when he might be "expected." Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more reſpect to this favourite of his than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were ſeized with ſuch a fit of laughter, that they could not recover themſelves as they paſſed through the crowd. Cato himſelf, in ſome confuſion, cried out, "Alas poor city!" and ſaid not a word more. Afterwards, however, he uſed always to laugh when he told the ſtory.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Aſia from making any more miſtakes of this kind for want of knowing Cato. For Cato, when he came to Epheſus, going to pay his reſpects to Pompey, as his ſuperior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of ſuch great armies; Pompey ſeeing him at ſome diſtance, did not wait to receive him ſitting, but roſe up to meet him, and gave him his hand with great cordiality. He ſaid much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was preſent, and ſpoke more freely in his praiſe when he was gone. Every one, after this, paid great attention to Cato; and he was admired for what before had expoſed him to contempt; for they could now ſee that his ſedate and ſubdued conduct was the effect of his greatneſs of mind. Beſides, it was viſible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the conſequence rather of reſpect than love; and that, though he expreſſed his admiration of him when preſent, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that came to ſee him, he preſſed much to ſtay and ſpend ſome time with him: To Cato he gave no ſuch invitation; but, as if he thought himſelf under ſome reſtraint in his proceedings while he ſtaid, readily diſmiſſed him. However, amongſt all the Romans that returned to Rome, to Cato only he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now going before him, the cities in his way ſtrove which ſhould do him moſt honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On theſe occaſions, Cato uſed to deſire his friends to look well to him, leſt he ſhould make good the ſaying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and compa-

nions

nions, but disapproved his austerity, asked him one day, "Whether he was inclined to visit Asia when his time of "service was expired?" Cato answered, "Yes, by all "means;" upon which Curio said, "It is well; you will "return a little more practicable," using an expressive Latin word to that purpose *.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, sent for Cato, with a design to recommend his children, and all his family, to his protection. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he came in the evening, he staid only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had gone a day's journey, he found at Pessinus a greater number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them; "or if you will not ac-"cept them," said Deiotarus, "at least permit your friends "to take them, who deserve some reward for their servi-"ces, and yet cannot expect it out of your own estate." Cato, however, would give them no such permission, though he observed that some of his friends cast a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined: "Corruption," said he, "will never want a pretence. But you shall be sure to "share with me whatever I can get with justice and ho-"nour." He therefore sent Deiotarus his presents back.

When he was taking ship for Brundusium, his friends advised him to put Cæpio's remains on board another vessel †; but he declared, "He would sooner part with his "life than with them:" and so he set sail. It is said, the ship he was in happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the *forum*, in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age ‡ to offer himself for the quæstorship, he would not solicit it till he had qualified himself for that office, by studying

* Supposed to be *manesutior*. As Cato understood it in a disadvantageous sense, we have rendered it by the word *practicable*, which conveys that idea.

† From a superstition which commonly obtained, they imagined that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word *happened* just below, shows that he did not give into that superstitious notion, though too apt to do those things.

‡ Twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

ſtudying all the laws relating to it, by making inquiries of ſuch as were experienced in it; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of its whole intention and proceſs. Immediately upon his entering on it, he made a great reformation among the ſecretaries and other officers of the treaſury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well verſed in; and as young quæſtors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under officers took upon them, not only to inſtruct, but to dictate to them; and were in fact quæſtors themſelves. Cato corrected this abuſe. He applied himſelf with great vigour to the buſineſs, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly underſtood all that belonged to that department; conſequently, he made uſe of the ſecretaries only as ſervants, which they really were; ſometimes correcting wilful abuſes, and ſometimes the miſtakes which they made through ignorance. As the licence in which they had lived had made them refractory, and they hoped to ſecure themſelves by flattering the other quæſtors, they boldly withſtood Cato. He therefore diſmiſſed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the diviſion of an eſtate. Againſt another he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then cenſor; a man whoſe authority was not only ſupported by his high office, but ſtill more by his reputation; for, in juſtice and regularity of life, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the Romans of his time. He was alſo a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct; yet he oppoſed him in this cauſe. Perceiving he had not right on his ſide, he had recourſe to entreaties; but Cato would not ſuffer him to proceed in that manner; and, as he did not deſiſt, took occaſion to ſay, "It would "be a great diſgrace for you," Catulus, "who are cenſor "and inſpector of our lives and manners, to be turned "out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to make anſwer; however, he did not ſpeak: either through anger or ſhame, he went off ſilent, and greatly diſconcerted. Nevertheleſs, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices againſt him exceeded thoſe for him by one only, Catulus deſired the aſſiſtance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by ſickneſs from attending the trial; but, upon this application, was brought in a litter into court, and gave

gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not reſtore him to his employment, or pay him his ſtipend; for he conſidered the partial ſuffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The ſecretaries thus humbled and ſubdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By theſe means, in a little time he rendered the treaſury more reſpectable than the ſenate itſelf; and it was commonly thought, as well as ſaid, that Cato had given the quæſtorſhip all the dignity of the conſulate. For, having made it his buſineſs to find out all the debts of long ſtanding due to the public, and what the public was indebted to private perſons, he ſettled thoſe affairs in ſuch a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or ſuffer any injury in that reſpect; ſtrictly demanding and inſiſting on the payment of whatever was owing to the ſtate, and at the ſame time readily and freely ſatisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they ſaw many obliged to pay who hoped never to have been called to account; and many receiving debts which they had given up as deſperate. His predeceſſors had often, through intereſt or perſuaſion, accepted falſe bills, and pretended orders of ſenate; but nothing of that kind eſcaped Cato. There was one order in particular which he ſuſpected to be forged; and though it had many witneſſes to ſupport it, he would not allow it till the conſuls came and declared it upon oath.

There was a number of aſſaſſins employed in the laſt proſcription, to whom Sylla had given twelve thouſand *drachmas* for each head they brought him. Theſe were looked upon by all the world as the moſt execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to take vengeance on them. Cato, however, ſummoned all who had received the public money for ſuch unjuſt ſervices, and made them refund; inveighing, at the ſame time, with equal reaſon and ſeverity, againſt their impious and abominable deeds. Theſe wretches, thus diſgraced, and as it were prejudged, were afterwards indicted for murder before the judges, who puniſhed them as they deſerved. All ranks of people rejoiced at theſe executions; they thought they ſaw the tyranny rooted out with theſe men, and Sylla himſelf capitally puniſhed in the death of his miniſters.

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The people were alſo delighted with his indefatigable diligence; for he always came to the treaſury before his colleagues, and was the laſt that left it. There was no aſſembly of the people, or meeting of the ſenate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remiſſions of fines and duties, and all unreaſonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers, and all ſuch vermin, and filled it with treaſure, he ſhowed that it is poſſible for government to be rich without oppreſſing the ſubject. At firſt this conduct of his was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable; becauſe, by refuſing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he ſtood the rage of diſappointed avarice for them all; and to the importunity of ſolicitation they could anſwer, that they could do nothing without the conſent of Cato.

The laſt day of his office he was conducted home by almoſt the whole body of citizens. But, by the way, he was informed, that ſome of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were beſieging him in the treaſury, and preſſing him to make out an order for ſums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quæſtor, while he acted with him; but when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by perſonal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato therefore immediately turned back, and, finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the regiſters, and eraſed it; Marcellus all the while ſtanding by in ſilence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treaſury, and led him to his own houſe. Marcellus, however, did not complain, either then or afterwards, but continued the ſame friendſhip and intimacy with him to the laſt.

After the time of his quæſtorſhip was expired, Cato kept a watchful eye upon the treaſury. He had his ſervants there daily minuting down the proceedings; and he ſpent much time himſelf in peruſing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own; a copy of which he had purchaſed for five talents.

Whenever the ſenate was ſummoned to meet, he was the firſt to give his attendance, and the laſt to withdraw;

and oftentimes, while the reſt were ſlowly aſſembling, he would ſit down and read, holding his gown before his book; nor would he ever be out of town when a houſe was called. Pompey, finding that in all his unwarrantable attempts he muſt find a ſevere and inexorable opponent in Cato, when he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way, either the cauſe of ſome friend to plead, or arbitration, or other buſineſs to attend to. But Cato ſoon perceived the ſnare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring, that when the ſenate was to ſit, he would never undertake any other buſineſs. For his attention to the concerns of government was not, like that of ſome others, guided by the views of honour or profit, nor left to chance or humour; but he thought *a good citizen ought to be as ſolicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive.* For this reaſon, he deſired his friends, and others with whom he had connections in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, the important deciſions, and all the principal buſineſs tranſacted there.

He made a point of it to oppoſe Clodius, the ſeditious demagogue, who was always propoſing ſome dangerous law, or ſome change in the conſtitution, or accuſing the prieſts and veſtals to the people. Fabia Terentia, ſiſter to Cicero's wife, and one of the veſtals, was impeached among the reſt, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cauſe of theſe injured people ſo well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confuſion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this ſervice, he ſaid, "You muſt thank your country, whoſe "utility is the ſpring that guides all my actions."

His reputation came to be ſo great, that a certain orator, in a cauſe where only one witneſs was produced, ſaid to the judges, "One man's evidence is not ſufficient to go "by, not even if it was Cato's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people were ſpeaking of ſtrange and incredible things, to ſay, "I would not believe ſuch "a thing, though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuſe in his expences, and in all reſpects of a worthleſs character, taking upon him one day to ſpeak in the ſenate in praiſe of temperance and ſobriety, Amnæus roſe up and ſaid, "Who can endure to hear a man who "eats and drinks like Craſſus, and builds like Lucullus, "pretend to talk here like Cato?" Hence others, who were diſſolute and abandoned in their lives, but preſerved

a gravity

a gravity and auſterity in their diſcourſe, came by way of ridicule to be called *Cato's*.

His friends adviſed him to offer himſelf for the tribuneſhip; but he thought it was not yet time. He ſaid, "He "looked upon an office of ſuch power and authority as a "violent medicine, which ought not to be uſed except in "caſes of great neceſſity." As at that time he had no public buſineſs to engage him, he took his books and philoſophers with him, and ſet out for Lucania, where he had lands, and an agreeable country retreat. By the way, he met with a number of horſes, carriages, and ſervants, which he found to belong to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneſhip. This put him to a ſtand: he remained ſome time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were ſurpriſed at this conduct, "Know ye not," ſaid he, "that Metellus is formidable even in his ſtupidity? But "remember, that he now follows the counſels of Pompey; "that the ſtate lies proſtrate before him; and that he will "fall upon and cruſh it with the force of a thunderbolt. "Is this then a time for the purſuit of rural amuſements? "Let us reſcue our liberties, or die in their defence!" Upon the remonſtrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and after a ſhort ſtay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early next morning went to the *forum*, as a candidate for the tribuneſhip, in oppoſition to Metellus: for to oppoſe, is the nature of that office; and its power is chiefly negative; inſomuch, that the diſſent of a ſingle voice is ſufficient to diſannul a meaſure in which the whole aſſembly beſide has concurred.

Cato was at firſt attended only by a ſmall number of his friends; but when his intentions were made known, he was immediately ſurrounded by men of honour and virtue, the reſt of his acquaintance, who gave him the ſtrongeſt encouragement, and ſolicited him to apply for the tribuneſhip, not as it might imply a favour conferred on himſelf, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens: obſerving, at the ſame time, that though it had been frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of oppoſition; yet he now ſtepped forth, regardleſs, not only of that trouble, but even of perſonal danger, when the liberties of his country were at ſtake. Such was the zeal and eagerneſs of the people that

preſſed around him, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongſt the reſt, he obſerved that great corruption had crept into the conſular elections. On this ſubject he gave a ſevere charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming on oath, that he would proſecute every one that ſhould offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus *, who had married his ſiſter Servilia, ſhould be excepted. But againſt Muræna, who, by means of bribery, had carried the conſulſhip at the ſame time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the perſon accuſed has power to ſet a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have no opportunity of ſupporting a falſe accuſation by private machinations before his trial. When the perſon that was appointed Muræna's officer, on this occaſion, obſerved the liberal and candid conduct of Cato, that he ſought only to ſupport his information by fair and open evidence, he was ſo ſtruck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the *forum*, or at his houſe, and, after inquiring whether he ſhould proceed that day in the buſineſs of the information, if Cato anſwered in the negative, he made no ſcruple of leaving him. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then conſul, and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleaſant things againſt the ſtoics, and their paradoxical philoſophy. This occaſioned no ſmall mirth amongſt the judges; upon which Cato only obſerved, with a ſmile, to thoſe who ſtood next him, that Rome had indeed a moſt laughable conſul †. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato; for, though acquitted of the charge he had brought againſt him, he nevertheleſs conſulted him

* From this paſſage, it ſhould ſeem that Plutarch ſuppoſed Cato to be capable of ſacrificing to family connections. But the fault lies rather in the hiſtorian than the tribune. For, is it to be ſuppoſed that the rigid virtue of Cato ſhould deſcend to the moſt obnoxious circumſtances of predilection? It is not poſſible to have a ſtronger inſtance of his integrity, than his refuſing the alliance of Pompey the Great; though that refuſal was impolitic, and attended with bad conſequences to the ſtate.

† The French and Engliſh tranſlators have it, *a pleaſant conſul*. But that does not convey the ſarcaſm that Cato meant, Ridiculum eſt quod riſum facit.

on all occaſions of importance during his conſulſhip; reſpected him for his ſenſe and virtue, and made uſe of his counſels in the adminiſtration of government. For Cato, on the bench, was the moſt rigid diſpenſer of juſtice, though in private ſociety he was affable and humane.

Before he was appointed tribune in the conſulſhip of Cicero, he ſupported the ſupreme magiſtrate in a very ſeaſonable manner, by many excellent meaſures during the turbulent times of Catiline. It is well known that this man meditated nothing leſs than a total ſubverſion of the Roman ſtate; and that, by the ſpirited counſels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without effecting his purpoſe. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the reſt of the conſpirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity, and the feebleneſs of his enterpriſes, reſolved to diſtinguiſh themſelves at leaſt more effectually. Their ſcheme was nothing leſs than to burn the city, and deſtroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign wars. Upon the diſcovery of this conſpiracy, Cicero, as we have obſerved in his life, called a council; and the firſt that ſpoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conſpirators ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. This opinion was adopted by the reſt, till it came to Cæſar. This eloquent man, conſiſtent with whoſe ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to ſuppreſs any threatening innovations, urged, in his uſual perſuaſive manner, the propriety of allowing the accuſed the privilege of trial; and that the conſpirators ſhould only be taken into cuſtody. The ſenate, who were under apprehenſions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this meaſure; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing more than impriſonment, that being the moſt rigorous puniſhment a citizen of Rome could ſuffer.

This change of ſentiments in thoſe who ſpoke firſt, was followed by the reſt, who all gave into milder meaſures. But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with the greateſt vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his puſilanimity in changing his reſolution. He attacked Cæſar, and charged him with a ſecret deſign of ſubverting the government, under the plauſible appearance of mitigating ſpeeches and a humane conduct; of intimidating the ſenate, by the

ſame

same means, even in a case where he had to fear for himself, and wherein he might think himself happy if he could be exempted from every imputation and suspicion of guilt.—He who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue from justice the enemies of the state; and shown, that so far from having any compassion for his country, when on the brink of destruction, he could even pity and plead for the wretches, the unnatural wretches that meditated its ruin, and grieve that their punishment should prevent their design. This, it is said, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. Cicero had selected a number of the swiftest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers. Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, agreeably to his opinion, that the conspirators should suffer capital punishment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the least circumstance that may contribute to mark them should not escape our notice. While he was warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole senate were upon the disputants, it is said that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected, and charged him with some traiterous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should be read publicly. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it, than he perceived it to be the hand of his own sister Servilia, who was passionately in love with Cæsar, by whom she had been debauched. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate amongst the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar; and his other sister, Servilia, was in still worse repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the first men in Rome, by whom also she had a son, she was divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what was most distressful to Cato, was, that the conduct of his own wife, Attilia, was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Attilia, he married Martia, the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots of the drama, is involved and intricate. Thraſeas, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who lived under the ſame roof with him, gives us this account of the matter. Amongſt the friends and followers of Cato, ſome made a more open profeſſion of their ſentiments than others. Amongſt theſe was Quintus Hortenſius, a man of great dignity and politeneſs. Not contented merely with the friendſhip of Cato, he was deſirous of a family alliance with him; and for this purpoſe, he ſcrupled not to requeſt that his daughter Porcia, who was already married to Bibulus, by whom ſhe had two children, might be lent to him, as a fruitful ſoil for the purpoſe of propagation. The thing itſelf, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper. For why ſhould a woman in the flower of her age, either continue uſeleſs, till ſhe is paſt child-bearing, or overburthen her huſband with too large a family? The mutual uſe of women, he added, in virtuous families, would not only increaſe a virtuous offspring, but ſtrengthen and extend the connections of ſociety. Moreover, if Bibulus ſhould be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, ſhe ſhould be reſtored after ſhe had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato anſwered, that he had the greateſt regard for the friendſhip of Hortenſius, but could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortenſius, however would not give up the point here; but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, ſaying, that ſhe was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already large enough. He could not poſſibly make this requeſt upon a ſuppoſition that Cato had no regard for his wife; for ſhe was at that very time pregnant. Notwithſtanding, the latter, when he obſerved the violent inclination Hortenſius had to be allied to him, did not abſolutely refuſe him; but ſaid it was neceſſary to conſult Martia's father, Philip, on the occaſion. Philip, therefore, was applied to, and his daughter was eſpouſed to Hortenſius, in the preſence, and with the conſent of Cato. Theſe circumſtances are not related in the proper order of time; but ſpeaking of Cato's connection with the women, I was led to mention them.

When

When the conſpirators were executed, and Cæſar, who, on account of his calumnies in the ſenate, was obliged to throw himſelf on the people, had infuſed a ſpirit of inſurrection into the worſt and loweſt of the citizens, Cato, being apprehenſive of the conſequences, engaged the ſenate to appeaſe the multitude by a free gift of corn. This coſt twelve hundred and fifty talents a year; but it had the deſired effect *.

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held ſeveral ſeditious meetings, and publiſhed an edict, that Pompey ſhould bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of ſaving the city from the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence; but his real deſign was to give up the ſtate into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the ſenate, Cato, inſtead of treating Metellus with his uſual aſperity, expoſtulated with great mildneſs, and had even recourſe to entreaty, intimating at the ſame time, that his family had ever ſtood in the intereſt of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildneſs to his fears, was the more inſolent on that account, and moſt audaciouſly aſſerted that he would carry his purpoſe into execution whether the ſenate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato were changed in a moment; and, with all the force of eloquence, he declared, "That while he was living, Pompey "ſhould never enter armed into the city." The ſenate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of Metellus. The latter they conſidered as a deſperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general deſtruction and confuſion. The virtue of Cato, they looked upon as a kind of enthuſiaſm, which would ever lead him to *arm* in the cauſe of juſtice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and ſlaves, armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was alſo followed by ſeveral of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes of a revolution; and his hands were ſtrengthened by the

* This is almoſt one third more than the ſum ſaid to have been expended in the ſame diſtribution in the life of Cæſar; and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expence, the policy was bad; for nothing ſo effectually weakens the hands of government as this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurſes do froward children.

prætorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger to which he was exposed was now so great, that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himself passed the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to imitate his example. He supped and went to rest as usual; and slept soundly till he was waked by his colleague Minutius Thermus. He went to the *forum*, accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, turning to his friends, "Which," said he, "is most contemptible, the savage disposition, or the cowardice of "him who brings such an army against a man who is "naked and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those that occupied the steps fell back to make way for him, but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only with some difficulty he drew along with him; and, as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that he might, by that means, prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little; and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honest men that were present, who, while they admired his firm and steady spirit, so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to speak it from memory; but Thermus prevented him by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this ineffectual, and perceiving that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Muræna, though the former

former had ſo lately an information againſt him, would not deſert him. He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was expoſed; entreated the mob to deſiſt from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Caſtor. When Metellus found the benches deſerted, and the adverſary put to the rout, he imagined he had gained his point, and again very modeſtly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adverſary, however, quickly rallied, and advanced with ſhouts of the greateſt courage and confidence. Metellus's party, ſuppoſing that, by ſome means, they had got arms, was thrown into confuſion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the diſperſion of theſe, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement and applauſe, eſtabliſhed a conſiderable party againſt Metellus. The ſenate too voted, that Cato ſhould, at all events, be ſupported; and that an edict, ſo pregnant with every thing that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even a tendency to civil war, ſhould be oppoſed with the utmoſt vigour.

Metellus ſtill maintained his reſolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered ſpirit of Cato, he came ſuddenly into the open court, aſſembled the people, ſaid every thing that he thought might render Cato odious to them, and declared that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conſpiracy againſt Pompey, whoſe diſgrace Rome might one day have ſevere occaſion to repent.

Upon this, he immediately ſet off for Aſia, to carry an account of theſe matters to Pompey. And Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troubleſome tribune, and cruſhing, as it were, in him, the growing power of Pompey, obtained the higheſt reputation. But what made him ſtill more popular, was his prevailing on the ſenate to deſiſt from their purpoſe of voting Metellus infamous, and diveſting him of the magiſtracy. His humanity and moderation in not inſulting a vanquiſhed enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilſt men of political ſagacity could ſee that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in ſome meaſure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachment of Cais Mem-

ius, who oppoſed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey than any perſonal hatred, he was in danger of loſing his triumphs. Cato, however, partly becauſe Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly becauſe he thought the proceedings unfair, oppoſed Memmius, and by that means expoſed himſelf to great obloquy. But though diveſted of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had ſtill credit enough to baniſh Memmius from the courts, and from the liſts. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himſelf to Cato, as to the ſtrongeſt bulwark againſt the power of Pompey. When this great man returned from the war, confident of his intereſt at Rome, from the magnificent reception he every where met with, he ſcrupled not to ſend a requiſition to the ſenate, that they would defer the election of conſuls till his arrival, that he might ſupport Piſo. Whilſt they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not becauſe he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was not a little diſturbed at this; and concluding, that, if Cato were his enemy, he would be the greateſt obſtacle to his deſigns, he ſent for his friend Munatius, and commiſſioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himſelf, and the younger for his ſon. Some ſay that they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may; when Munatius opened his commiſſion to Cato, in the preſence of his wife and ſiſters, the women were not a little delighted with the ſplendour of the alliance. But Cato, without a moment's heſitation, anſwered, "Go, Munatius, go, and "tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be caught in a female "ſnare. Tell him, at the ſame time, that I am ſenſible "of the honour he does me; and whilſt he continues to "act as he ought to do, I ſhall have that friendſhip for "him which is ſuperior to affinity; but I will never give "hoſtages, againſt my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, were chagrined; and even the friends of Cato blamed the ſeverity of his anſwer. But Pompey ſoon after gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a conſular election. "You ſee now," ſaid Cato to the women, "what

"would

"would have been the consequence of my alliance with "Pompey. I should have had my share in all the aspersions that are thrown upon him." And they owned that he had acted right. However, if one ought to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance of Pompey. By suffering it to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two great men went near to overturn the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually destroyed. But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, to whom the slighter faults of Pompey were obnoxious, suffered him, by thus strengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were only impending at the period under our review. When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey concerning their institutions in Pontus, (for each wanted to confirm his own, as the former was evidently injured), he had the support of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. Cato opposed it, and it was rejected; in consequence of which, Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes; and much about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato in some measure led the way. The thing was thus: Cæsar, on his return from Spain, was at once a candidate for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required that those who sue for the supreme magistracy should be in person, and those who expected a triumph should be without the walls, he petitioned the senate, that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy. The senate in general agreed to oblige Cæsar; and when Cato, the only one that opposed it, found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he spoke the whole day long, and thus prevented the doing of any business. Cæsar, therefore, gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had both entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed the laws for the distribution of lands amongst the poor, and the other seconded the proposal. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus the other consul, opposed it. But Cato, in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences of Cæsar's connection

with Pompey, was ſtrenuous againſt the motion; and ſaid, it was not the diſtribution of lands that he feared, ſo much as the rewards which the cajolers of the people might expect for their favours.

In this not only the ſenate agreed with him, but many of the people too, who were reaſonably offended by the unconſtitutional conduct of Cæſar: For whatever the moſt violent and the maddeſt of the tribunes propoſed for the pleaſure of the mob, Cæſar, to pay an abject court to them, ratified by the conſular authority. When he found his motion, therefore, likely to be over-ruled, his party had recourſe to violence, pelted Bibulus the conſul with dirt, and broke the rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts began to be thrown, and many were wounded, the reſt of the ſenate fled as faſt as poſſible out of the *forum*. Cato was the laſt that left it; and as he walked ſlowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedneſs and madneſs of the people. The Agrarian law, therefore, was not only paſſed, but they obliged the whole ſenate to take an oath, that they would confirm and ſupport it; and thoſe that ſhould refuſe were ſentenced to pay a heavy fine. Neceſſity brought moſt of them into the meaſure; for they remembered the example of Metellus *, who was baniſhed for refuſing to comply, in a ſimilar inſtance, with the people. Cato was ſolicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath. But what principally induced him, was the remonſtrances and expoſtulations of Cicero, who repreſented to him, that there might not be ſo much virtue, as he imagined, in one man's diſſenting from a decree that was eſtabliſhed by the reſt of the ſenate; that to expoſe himſelf to certain danger, without even the poſſibility of producing any good effect, was perfect infanity; and, what was ſtill worſe, to leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone ſo many toils, to the mercy of innovators and uſurpers, would look as if he were weary, at leaſt, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome; but Rome could not do without Cato; his friends could not do without him; himſelf could not diſpenſe with his aſſiſtance and ſupport, while the audacious Clodius, by means of his tribunitial authority, was forming

* Metellus Numidicus.

ing the moſt dangerous machinations againſt him. By theſe and the like remonſtrances, ſolicited at home, and in the *forum*, Cato, it is ſaid, was with difficulty prevailed on to take the oath; and that, his friend Favonius excepted, he was the laſt that took it.

Elated with this ſucceſs, Cæſar propoſed another act for diſtributing almoſt the whole province of Campania amongſt the poor. Cato alone oppoſed it. And though Cæſar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to priſon, he omitted not, nevertheleſs, to ſpeak as he paſſed, in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the conſequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings. The ſenate, with heavy hearts, followed Cato, and all the virtuous part of the people, with ſilent indignation. Cæſar was not inattentive to the public diſcontent that this proceeding occaſioned; but, ambitiouſly expecting ſome conceſſions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to priſon. At length, however, when he found theſe expectations vain, unable any longer to ſupport the ſhame to which this conduct expoſed him, he inſtructed one of the tribunes to reſcue him from his officers. The people, notwithſtanding, brought into his intereſt by theſe public diſtributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the ſpace of five years; though Cato foretold them at the ſame time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws, (for he was of the patrician order), a tribune of the people; becauſe they knew he would, in every reſpect, accede to their wiſhes with regard to the baniſhment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piſo, the father of Ceſar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius *, a boſom friend of Pompey's, as we are told by thoſe who knew him beſt, they created conſuls.

Yet, though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, ſtill they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it coſt them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulſive meaſures they had re-

* Plutarch does not mean to repreſent this friendſhip in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was deſpicable in every reſpect, as appears from Cicero's oration for Sextius.

courſe to, did them but little honour. Clodius, too, ſaw that he could not diſtreſs Cicero, while ſupported by Cato: yet this was his great object; and, upon his entering on his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato; when, after paying him the compliment of being the honeſteſt man in Rome, he propoſed to him, as a teſtimony of his ſincerity, the government of Cyprus, an appointment which he ſaid had been ſolicited by many. Cato anſwered, that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous ſcheme and a diſgrace; upon which Clodius fiercely replied, "If it is not your pleaſure to go, it is mine that "you ſhall go." And, ſaying this, he went immediately to the ſenate, and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither ſupplied him with a veſſel, a ſoldier, or a ſervant, two ſecretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Beſides, as if the charge of Cyprus, and the oppoſition of Ptolemy, were not a ſufficient taſk for him, he ordered him likewiſe to reſtore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato, as long as poſſible, out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the ſame time cloſely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the neceſſity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he ſent before him to Cyprus, he negotiated with Ptolemy in ſuch a manner, that he yielded without coming to blows; for Cato gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he ſhould be appointed high prieſt to the Paphian Venus *. While this was negotiating, Cato ſtopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's anſwer, and making preparations for the reduction of the iſland.

In

* This appointment ſeems to be but a poor exchange for a kingdom; but when it is remembered, that, in the Pagan theology, the prieſts of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that moſt of them were of royal families;—when it is conſidered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus ſtood amongſt the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her prieſt muſt have been, occaſioned by the offerings of the prodigious concourſe of people who came annually to pay their devotions at her temple, it will be thought that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little iſland.

In the mean time, Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria, upon some quarrel with his subjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment from Cæsar and Pompey, by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he sent to him, in hopes that he would wait upon him. When his messenger arrived, Cato, who then happened to have taken physic, told him, that if Ptolemy wanted to see him, he might come himself. When he came, Cato neither went forward to meet him, nor did he so much as rise from his seat; but saluted him as he would a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy was somewhat hurt by it at first, and surprised to meet with such a supercilious severity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. However, when he entered into conversation with him concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was easily reconciled to him. Cato, it seems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome: represented to him the happiness he had left, and that he was about to expose himself to toils, the plagues of attendance, and, what was still worse, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt converted into money could not satisfy. He advised him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the same time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, restored by his representations, as it were, from insanity to reason, admired the discretion and sincerity of Cato, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he was no sooner at the door of one of the magistrates of Rome, than he repented of his folly, and blamed himself for rejecting the virtuous counsels of Cato, as for disobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good stars would have it, took himself off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato, being determined to go himself to Byzantium, sent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius; when the exiles were reconciled to the rest of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be

be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was very exact, attended at the ſales, took the accounts himſelf, and brought every article to the beſt market. Nor would he truſt to the common cuſtoms of ſale factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but had private conferences with the purchaſers, in which he urged them to bid higher; ſo that every thing went off at the greateſt rate. By this means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almoſt implacably affronted his particular friend Munatius. Cæſar too, in his oration againſt him, availed himſelf of this circumſtance, and treated him very ſeverely. Munatius, however, tells us, that this miſunderſtanding was not ſo much occaſioned by Cato's diſtruſt, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealouſy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thraſeus has chiefly followed. He tells us, that he was amongſt the laſt that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuſe of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refuſed admittance, becauſe Cato was privately concerting ſomething with Canidius; and that, when he modeſtly complained of this conduct, he received a ſevere anſwer from Cato; who obſerved, with Theophraſtus, that too much love was frequently the occaſion of hatred; and that he, becauſe of the ſtrength of his attachment to him, was angry at the ſlighteſt inattention. He told him at the ſame time, that he made uſe of Canidius as a neceſſary agent, and becauſe he had more confidence in him than in the reſt, having found him honeſt, though he had been there from the firſt, and had opportunities of being otherwiſe. This converſation which he had in private with Cato, the latter, he informs us, related to Canidius; and when this came to his knowledge, he would neither attend at Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, aſſiſt at his councils. Cato threatening to puniſh him for diſobedience, and, as is uſual, to take a pledge from him *, Munatius paid no regard to it, but ſailed for Rome, and long retained his reſentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her huſband, he and Munatius

* When a magiſtrate refuſed a ſummons to the ſenate or public council, the penalty was to take ſome piece of furniture out of his houſe, and to keep it till he ſhould attend. This they called *pignora capere*.

tius were both invited to ſup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the reſt of the company had taken their places, aſked where he ſhould take his place. Barca anſwered, where he pleaſed. Then, ſaid he, I will take my place by Munatius. He therefore took his place next him; but he ſhowed him no other marks of friendſhip during ſupper: afterwards, however, at the requeſt of Marcia, Cato wrote to him, that he ſhould be glad to ſee him. He therefore waited on him at his own houſe, and being entertained by Marcia till the reſt of the morning viſitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindneſs. We have dwelt upon theſe little circumſtances the longer, as, in our opinion, they contribute no leſs than more public and important actions, towards the clear delineation of manners and characters. Cato, in his expedition, had acquired near ſeven thouſand talents of ſilver, and, being under ſome apprehenſions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of veſſels that would hold two talents and five hundred *drachmas* a piece. To each of theſe he tied a long cord, at the end of which was faſtened a large piece of cork, ſo that if any misfortune ſhould happen to the ſhip that contained them, theſe buoys might mark the ſpot where they lay. The whole treaſure, however, except a very little, was conveyed with ſafety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both loſt; one by ſhipwreck with his freedman Philargyrus, and the other by fire at Corcyra; for the ſailors, on account of the coldneſs of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's ſervants, whom he had brought over with him, were ſufficient vouchers for his conduct againſt enemies and informers: for he did not intend theſe accounts merely as a proof of his honeſty, but to recommend the ſame kind of accuracy and induſtry to others.

As ſoon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magiſtrates, the prieſts, the whole ſenate, and multitudes of the people, went down to the river to meet him, and covered both its banks; ſo that his reception was ſomething like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtineſs in his conduct; for though the conſuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not ſo much as attempt

tempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were struck with admiration at the vast quantity of money that was carried along the streets; and the senate, in full assembly, bestowed the highest encomiums on him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary *, and the right of attending at the public shows in a *prætexta*, or purple-bordered gown. But these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in favour of whose diligence and fidelity he gave his own testimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was consul at that time, and his colleague respected Cato no less for his virtue, than Philip might for his alliance; so that he had in some measure the whole consular interest in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile to which he had been sentenced by Clodius, his influence was considerable; and he scrupled not, in the absence of Clodius, to pull down and destroy the tribunitial edicts, which the latter had put up in the capitol. Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cicero, upon the accusation of Clodius, made his defence by alleging that Clodius had not been legally appointed tribune, and that of course every act of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and said, that he was indeed sensible that the whole administration of Clodius had been wicked and absurd; but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had done in Cyprus would stand for nothing, because his commission issuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid; that Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had not been chosen tribune, contrary to law, because he had previously been inrolled in the order of plebeians by an act passed for that purpose; but that, if he had acted unjustly in his office, he was liable to personal impeachments, while at the same time the office itself retained its proper force and authority. This occasioned a quarrel for some time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

Cæsar,

* Cato was then but thirty-eight years of age, and consequently too young to be prætor in the ordinary way, in which a person could not enter on that office till he was forty.

Cæsar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus, and it was agreed that the two last should again stand for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues, and troops, should be secured to themselves. This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the commonwealth. This dangerous junction deterred many men of distinguished rank and integrity from their design of offering themselves candidates for the consulship. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his sister, not to give up the point, nor to resign his pretensions; for that the contest was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed too that the consular power should not be suffered to grow so enormous by the union of Crassus and Pompey; but that, at all events, they were to be separated, and Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They assured him at the same time that he would have the voices of many of the people who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torch-light into the *campus martius*. The torch-bearer was killed at the first stroke; the rest were wounded and fled; Cato and Domitius alone excepted; for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, still kept Domitius on the spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of liberty while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who showed what use they intended to make of that power, which they sought by such execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato gave up nothing for lost, but solicited a prætorship for himself, that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate against the consuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, apprehensive that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate, and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors should immediately enter upon their office,

office *, without waiting the uſual time to ſtand the charge, if any ſuch charge ſhould be brought againſt them, of bribery and corruption. By this means they brought in their own creatures and dependants, preſided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Yet ſtill the virtue of Cato could not totally loſe its weight. There were ſtill thoſe who had honeſty enough to be aſhamed of ſelling his intereſt, and wiſdom enough to think that it would be of ſervice to the ſtate to elect him even at the public expence. He therefore was nominated prætor by the votes of the firſt-called tribe; but Pompey ſcandalouſly pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the aſſembly; for it is not common for the Romans to do any buſineſs if it thunders. Afterwards, by means of bribery, and by the excluſion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the aſſembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor inſtead of Cato. Thoſe electors, it is ſaid, who voted from ſuch iniquitous motives, like ſo many culprits, immediately ran away. To the reſt that aſſembled and expreſſed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to addreſs himſelf in a ſpeech; in the courſe of which he foretold, as if inſpired by ſome divine influence, all thoſe evils that then threatened the commonwealth; and ſtirred up the people againſt Pompey and Craſſus, who, in the conſciouſneſs of their guilty intentions, feared the controul of the prætorial power of Cato. In his return home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that had been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the diſtribution of the conſular provinces, and propoſed giving Spain and Africa to one of the conſuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unlimited power of making war, and extending dominion, the reſt of the ſenate, thinking oppoſition vain, forebore to ſpeak againſt the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, aſcended the roſtrum in order to ſpeak, but he was limited to the ſpace of two hours; and when he had ſpent this time in repetitions, inſtructions, and

* There was always a time allotted between nomination and poſſeſſion; that if any undue means had been made uſe of in the canvaſs they might be diſcovered.

and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor took him down from the rostrum. Yet still, when below amongst the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty: and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the counsel's beadle again laid hold of him and turned him out of the forum. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in a violent rage, ordered him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till, at last, Trebonius, through fear, dismissed him. Thus Cato was rescued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly over-awed, and partly corrupted, the consular party prevented Aquilius, one of the tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly, wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said, it thundered out of the forum; so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious that the people were going to pull down his statues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato addressing himself particularly to Pompey, told him, with great confidence, he did not then consider that he was taking Cæsar upon his shoulders; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither support it, nor shake him off, they would both fall together, and crush the commonwealth in their fall: and then he should find too late that the counsels of Cato were no less salutary for himself, than intrinsically just. Yet Pompey, though he often heard these things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power, despised them, and feared no reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct as to have derogated from it by the meanness of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe or his shoes, and sit in judgment, even in capital cases, on some of the first personages in Rome. Some will have it that he passed sentence, when he had drank after dinner; but that is not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption which then prevailed amongst the

people

people in elections of every kind: and, in order to effect this, he moved that a law ſhould be paſſed in the ſenate, for every candidate, though no information ſhould be laid, to declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people. So that, as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was ſo much inſulted and pelted with ſtones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty eſcaped into the roſtrum. There he ſtood, and his firm and ſteady aſpect ſoon huſhed the clamours and diſorders of the populace; ſo that when he ſpoke upon the ſubject, he was heard with a general ſilence *. The ſenate publicly teſtified their approbation of his conduct; but he anſwered, that no compliment could be paid to them at leaſt for deſerting the prætor, and declining to aſſiſt him when in manifeſt danger. This meaſure diſtreſſed the candidates conſiderably; for, on the one hand, they were afraid of giving bribes, and, on the other, they were apprehenſive of loſing their election, if it ſhould be done by their opponents. They thought it beſt, therefore, jointly to depoſit five hundred ſeſtertia each †, then to canvaſs in a fair and legal manner, and if any one ſhould be convicted of bribery he ſhould forfeit his depoſit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the money was to be lodged in his hand, but for this he accepted of ſureties. When the day of election came, Cato ſtood next to the tribune who preſided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depoſiting candidates appeared to have made uſe of ſome fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the reſt. But, after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted the

* This circumſtance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following paſſage in Virgil, and at the ſame time the laboured dignity and weight of that verſe

—Pietate gravem et meritis ſi forte virum quem

conveys a very ſtrong and juſt idea of Cato.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et ſaxa volant; furor arma miniſtrat,
Tum, pietate gravem et meritis ſi forte virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus adſtant.
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet. VIRG. Æn. I.

† Cicero ſpeaks of this agreement in one of his epiſtles to Atticus.

the fine, and said that the guilt was a sufficient punishment. Cato, however, rendered himself obnoxious to many by this conduct, who seemed displeased that he affected both the legislative and judicial powers. Indeed, there is hardly any authority so much exposed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence that it always carries along with it. For though he who administers justice in a virtuous manner, may not be respected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts; yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create suspicion: they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired. One arises from a natural acuteness, the other from a natural firmness of mind. However, as justice is a virtue so easily practicable and attainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general. But Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity, to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again entered the lists of Pompey, accused Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and of raising an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept of his daughter in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained, that though he was not so much as supplied with a horse, or a soldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus, than Pompey had done from so many wars and triumphs over the harassed world. He asserted, that he never even wished for the alliance of Pompey, not because he thought him unworthy, but because of the difference of their political principles. "For my own "part," said he, "I rejected the province offered me "as an appendage to my prætorship; but for Pompey, he "arrogated some provinces to himself, and some he bestowed on his friends. Nay, he has now, without even soliciting your consent, accommodated Cæsar in Gaul with "six thousand soldiers. Such forces, armaments, and "horses, are now, it seems, at the disposal of private men: "and Pompey retains the title of commander and general, while he delegates to others the legions and the "provinces: and continues within the walls to preside at "elections

" elections, the arbiter of the mob, and the fabricator of " sedition. From this conduct his principles are ob- " vious. He holds it but one step from anarchy to abso- " lute power *." Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus † is said to have been of Socrates, who was transported with his discourses even to madness or intoxication. This Favonius stood for the office of ædile, and apparently lost it: but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding them all to be written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set aside the election. Favonius, therefore, was elected, and in the discharge of the several offices of his magistracy he had the assistance of Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that were given to the people. In these Cato gave another specimen of his economy, for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but of wild olive, such as they use in the olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces, and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the usual severity of his manners. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common person amongst the spectators, and had given up the management of the whole to Cato, declared the same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a very magnificent entertainment: but the people left him, and were much more entertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato master of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, that he took this upon him only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters of

* This maxim has been verified in almost every state. When ambitious men aimed at absolute power, their first measure was to impede the regular movements of the constitutional government, by throwing all into confusion, that they might ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

† See Plato's Phædo, and the beginning of the *Symposium*. This Apollodorus was surnamed *Manicus* from his passionate enthusiasm.

of mere amuſement, and that the benevolence and good humour ſuitable to ſuch occaſions would have a better effect.

When Scipio, Hypſæus, and Milo, were candidates for the conſulſhip, and, beſide the uſual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourſe to violence and murder, and civil war, it was propoſed that Pompey ſhould be appointed protector of the election. But Cato oppoſed this, and ſaid that the laws ſhould not derive their ſecurity from Pompey, but that Pompey ſhould owe his to the laws.

However, when the conſular power had been long ſuſpended, and the *forum* was in ſome meaſure beſieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worſt, recommended to the ſenate to confer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwiſe inveſt him, and by that means to make a leſs evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, an agent of Cato's, moved in the ſenate that Pompey ſhould be created ſole conſul; adding that his adminiſtration would either be of the greateſt ſervice to the ſtate, or that, at leaſt, if the commonwealth muſt have a maſter, it would have the ſatisfaction of being under the auſpices of the greateſt man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, ſeconded the motion, intimating that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promiſed fair for a conſtitutional adminiſtration, and for the preſervation of the city.

Pompey being thus elected conſul, invited Cato to his houſe in the ſuburbs. He received him with the greateſt careſſes and acknowledgments, and entreated him to aſſiſt in his adminiſtration, and to preſide at his councils. Cato anſwered, that he had neither formerly oppoſed Pompey out of private enmity, nor ſupported him of late out of perſonal favour; but that, the welfare of the ſtate had been his motive in both: that, in private, he would aſſiſt him with his counſel whenever he ſhould be called upon; but that, in public, he ſhould ſpeak his ſentiments, whether they might be in his favour or not. And he did not fail to do as he had told him. For, ſoon after, when Pompey propoſed ſevere puniſhments and penalties againſt thoſe who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the paſt ſhould be overlooked, and the future only adverted to; for that, if he ſhould

ſhould ſcrutinize into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to ſay where it would end; and ſhould he eſtabliſh penal laws, *ex poſt facto*, it would be hard that thoſe who were convicted of former offences ſhould ſuffer for the breach of thoſe laws which were then not in being. Afterwards, too, when impeachments were brought againſt ſeveral perſons of rank, and ſome of Pompey's friends amongſt the reſt, Cato, when he obſerved that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the diſcharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums ſhould no longer be ſpoken in favour of the priſoner at the bar; and yet he gave into the court a written encomium * on Munatius Plancus †, when he was upon his trial; but Cato, when he obſerved this, as he was one of the judges, ſtopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of the judges; yet he was condemned notwithſtanding. Indeed, Cato gave the criminals in general no ſmall perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter caſe it was generally underſtood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the ſame means were condemned. Nay, to object to the judgment of Cato, became a common handle of accuſation and reproach.

Cæſar, at the ſame time that he was proſecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his intereſt in the city, by all that friendſhip and munificence could effect. Pompey ſaw this, and waked, as from a dream, to the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political neceſſity of oppoſing Cæſar, determined himſelf to ſtand for the conſulſhip, that he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms or diſcover his deſigns. Cato's competitors were both men of credit, but Sulpicius ‡, who was one of them, had himſelf derived

* Dion calls this an eulogium and a petition, ἐπαινον τε ἅμα ἀντὶ καὶ τὴν ἱκετειαν.

† Munatius Plancus, who in the Greek is miſtakenly called Flaccus, was then tribune of the people. He was accuſed by Cicero, and defended by Pompey, but unanimouſly condemned.

‡ The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was choſen for his knowledge of the laws, and the former for his eloquence.

rived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account he was cenſured as ungrateful; though Cato was not offended: "For what wonder," ſaid he, "is it, "that what a man eſteems the greateſt happineſs he ſhould "not give up to another?" He procured an act in the ſenate, that no candidate ſhould canvaſs by means of others. This exaſperated the people, becauſe it cut off at once the means of cultivating favour, and conveying bribes; and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and inſignificant. It was in ſome meaſure owing to this act that he loſt the conſulſhip; for he conſulted his dignity too much to canvaſs in a popular manner himſelf; and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulſe, in this caſe, is for ſome time attended with ſhame and ſorrow both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was ſo little affected by it, that he anointed himſelf to play at ball, and walked as uſual after dinner with his friends in the *forum*, without his ſhoes or his tunic. Cicero, ſenſible how much Rome wanted ſuch a conſul, at once blamed his indolence, with regard to courting the people on this occaſion, and his inattention to future ſucceſs; whereas he had twice applied for the prætorſhip. Cato anſwered, that his ill ſucceſs in the latter caſe was not owing to the averſion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulſive meaſures uſed amongſt them; while in an application for the conſulſhip no ſuch meaſures could be uſed; and he was ſenſible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by thoſe manners which it did not become a wiſe man either to change for their ſakes, or by repeating his application, to expoſe himſelf to the ſame ill ſucceſs.

Cæſar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over warlike nations; and had fallen upon the Germans, though at peace with the Romans, and ſlain three hundred thouſand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occaſion, voted a public thankſgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and ſaid, "That Cæſar ſhould be "given up to the nations he had injured, that his conduct "might not bring a curſe upon the city; yet the gods," he ſaid, "ought to be thanked, notwithſtanding, that the "ſoldiers had not ſuffered for the madneſs and wickedneſs of their general, but that they had in mercy ſpared "the ſtate." Cæſar, upon this, ſent letters to the ſenate full of invectives againſt Cato. When they were read,

Cato roſe with great calmneſs, and, in a ſpeech, ſo regular, that it ſeemed premeditated, ſaid, that, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæſar's buffoonery, they deſerved not to be anſwered: and then, laying open the whole plan of Cæſar's conduct, more like a friend, who knew his boſom counſels, than an enemy, he ſhowed the ſenate that it was not the Britons * or the Gauls they had to fear, but Cæſar himſelf. This alarmed them ſo much, that Cæſar's friends were ſorry they had produced the letters that occaſioned it. Nothing, however, was then reſolved upon: only it was debated concerning the propriety of appointing a ſucceſſor to Cæſar; and when Cæſar's friends required, that, in caſe thereof, Pompey too ſhould relinquiſh his army, and give up his provinces: "Now," cried Cato, "is coming "to paſs the event that I foretold †. It is obvious, that "Cæſar will have recourſe to arms; and that the power "which he has obtained by deceiving the people, he will "make uſe of to enſlave them." However, Cato had but little influence out of the ſenate, for the people were bent on aggrandizing Cæſar; and even the ſenate, while convinced by the arguments of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæſar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army towards Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, caſt their eyes upon Cato, as on the only perſon who had foreſeen the original deſigns of Cæſar. "Had ye, then," ſaid Cato, "attended to my counſels, you would neither now have "feared

* Amlot thinks we ought here to read Γερμανων, and not Βριτανων.

† But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain ſacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæſar could not long remain unacquainted with what had paſſed in the ſenate; and Cato's obſervation on this occaſion was not much more diſcreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a houſe. Cato, in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed no leſs to the deſtruction of the commonwealth than Cæſar himſelf. Wherefore did he idly exaſperate that ambitious man, by objecting againſt a public thankſgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in that part of Cato's conduct, which had but the ſhadow of virtue to ſupport it. Nay, it is more than probable, that it was out of ſpite to Cæſar, that Cato gave the whole conſular power to Pompey. It muſt be remembered, that Cæſar had debauched Cato's ſiſter.

" feared the power of one man, nor would it have been " in one man that you ſhould have placed your hopes." Pompey anſwered, " that Cato had indeed been a better " prophet, but that he had himſelf acted a more friendly " part." And Cato then adviſed the ſenate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey; " for the authors of " great evils," he ſaid, " knew beſt how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were inſufficient, and even the few that he had by no means hearty in his cauſe, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, ſent his youngeſt ſon to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and took the eldeſt along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper ſuperintendant, he took Marcia again, who was then a rich widow; for Hortenſius was dead, and had left her his whole eſtate. This circumſtance gave Cæſar occaſion to reproach Cato with his avarice; and to call him the mercenary huſband. " For why," ſaid he, " did he part with her, if he had " occaſion for her himſelf? And, if he had not occaſion " for her, why did he take her again? The reaſon is ob- " vious. It was the wealth of Hortenſius. He lent the " young man his wife that he might make her a rich wi- " dow." But, in anſwer to this, one need only quote that paſſage of Euripides *,

Call Hercules a Coward!

For it would be equally abſurd to reproach Cato with coveteouſneſs, as it would be to charge Hercules with want of courage. Whether the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair is another queſtion. However, as ſoon as he had re-married Marcia, he gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is ſaid, that he neither cut his hair, nor ſhaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dreſs, as in his anguiſh, for his country. On which ſide ſoever victory might for a while declare, he changed not on that account his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he paſſed over to Syracuſe; and finding that Aſinius Pollio was arrived at Meſſania with a detachment from the enemy, he ſent to him to de-

* This paſſage is in the firſt act of the *Hercules furens*.

mand the reaſon of his coming; but Pollio only anſwered his queſtion by another, and demanded of Cato to know the cauſe of thoſe revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrachium, how myſterious, ſaid he, are the ways of providence; when Pompey neither acted upon the principles of wiſdom nor of juſtice, he was invincible; but now that he would ſave the liberties of his country, his good fortune ſeems to have forſaken him. Aſinius, he ſaid, he could eaſily drive out of Sicily; but as greater ſupplies were at hand, he was unwilling to involve the iſland in war. He therefore adviſed the Syracuſans to conſult their ſafety by joining the ſtronger party; and ſoon after ſet ſail. When he came to Pompey, his conſtant ſentiments were, that the war ſhould be procraſtinated in hopes of peace; for that, if they came to blows, which party ſoever might be ſucceſsful, the event would be deciſive againſt the liberties of the ſtate. He alſo prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, that neither any city ſubject to the Romans ſhould be ſacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many, by his humanity, to the intereſt of Pompey.

When he went into Aſia for the purpoſe of raiſing men and ſhips, he took with him his ſiſter Servilia, and a little boy that ſhe had by Lucullus; for ſince the death of her huſband, ſhe had lived with him; and this circumſtance of putting herſelf under the eye of Cato; and of following him through the ſevere diſcipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Cæſar did not fail to cenſure Cato even on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Aſia did not think that they had much need of Cato's aſſiſtance; yet he brought over the Rhodians to their intereſt; and there leaving his ſiſter Servilia and her ſon, he joined Pompey's forces, which were now on a reſpectable footing both by ſea and land. It was on this occaſion that Pompey diſcovered his final views. At firſt he intended to have given Cato the ſupreme naval command; and he had then no fewer than five hundrec men of war, beſide an infinite number of open gallies and tenders. Reflecting, however, or reminded by his friends, that Cato's great principle was on all occaſions to reſcue the commonwealth from the government

of

of an individual; and that, if invested with so considerable a power himself, the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey too to lay down his arms, and submit to the laws; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding, were coldly received. But when Cato rose and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when, by his impassioned action, he showed that he felt what he spoke; and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his soul; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country, the plaudits of the army rent the skies; and the generals marched on in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæsar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. But these things have been mentioned in the life of Pompey. Amid the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition, which covered the field with the bodies of citizens fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in pursuit of Cæsar, proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of fifteen cohorts only; for still he was afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew he would be faithful to him; but if he should be victor, he knew at the same time, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, Cato determined, in case of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognisance or the power of the tyrant; but if Pompey survived, he was resolved to keep his little forces to-

gether for him. With this deſign, he paſſed into Corcyra, where the fleet was ſtationed; and would there have reſigned his command to Cicero, becauſe he had been conſul and himſelf only prætor. But Cicero declined it, and ſet ſail for Italy. Pompey the younger reſented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and ſome others; but Cato prevented him by private expoſtulation, and thus ſaved the lives both of Cicero and the reſt.

Cato, upon a ſuppoſition that Pompey the Great would make his eſcape into Egypt or Libya, prepared to follow him, together with his little force, after having firſt given, to ſuch as choſe it, the liberty of ſtaying behind. As ſoon as he had reached the African coaſt, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger ſon, who acquainted him with the death of his father. This greatly afflicted the little band; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimouſly reſolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compaſſion to the honeſt men that had put their confidence in him, and becauſe he would not leave them deſtitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He firſt made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had before ſhut their gates againſt Labienus. Here he underſtood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato therefore reſolved to march to them by land, as it was now winter. He had got together a great many aſſes to carry water; and furniſhed himſelf alſo with cattle and other victualling proviſions, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewiſe in his train ſome of the people called Pſylli *, who obviate

* Theſe people were ſo called from their king Pſyllus, whoſe tomb was in the region of the Syrtes. Varro tells us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they ſuffer them to be bitten by a venomous ſerpent; and if they ſurvive the wound, they conclude that they are not ſpurious. Crates Pargamenus ſays, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Helleſpont, called Ophiogenes, whoſe touch alone was a cure for the bite of a ſerpent. Celſus obſerves, that the Pſylli ſuck out the poiſon from the wound, not by any ſuperior ſkill or quality, but becauſe they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have aſſerted, that the Pſylli have an innate quality in their conſtitution that is poiſonous to ſerpents; and that the ſmell of it throws them into a profound ſleep. Pliny maintains, that every man has in himſelf a natural

ate the bad effects of the bite of serpents, by sucking out the poison; and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by their charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he made use of neither horse nor chariot. Ever after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he eat sitting *, intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter, he reached the place of his designation in Lybia, with an army of near ten thousand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, by reason of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and which led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, whose wealth and power rendered him intolerably arrogant. For when he first gave Cato audience, he took his place between Scipio and Cato. But Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other side of Scipio; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit on this occasion; but they have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philostratus in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though he did it entirely out of regard to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he took care also to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take the command upon him; and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it; but he said, "He would not transgress the laws; for

tural poison for serpents; and that those creatures will shun the human saliva as they would boiling water. The fasting saliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe, that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, we shall have no occasion to believe, at the same time, that the Psylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose, as Celsus says, *Ex audacia usu confirmatâ*. However, they made a considerable trade of it; and we are assured that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy, and other countries, to increase their gain. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island.

* The consul Varro did the same after the battle of Cannæ. It was a ceremony of mourning.

" the ſake of which he was waging war with the man " who trampled upon them; nor, when he was only *pro-* " *prætor*, take the command from a *proconſul*." For Scipio had been appointed proconſul; and his name inſpired the generality with hopes of ſucceſs; for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio being eſtabliſhed commander in chief, to gratify Juba, was inclined to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the ſword, and to raze the city, as a place engaged in the intereſt of Cæſar. But Cato would not ſuffer it: he inveighed loudly in council againſt that deſign, invoking heaven and earth to oppoſe it; and, with much difficulty, reſcued that people out of the hands of cruelty. After which, partly on their application, and partly at the requeſt of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæſar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to thoſe who were maſters of it; and Cato added much to its ſtrength, as well as convenience; for he brought into it a vaſt quantity of bread corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he diſarmed all the youth of Utica, and poſted them in the trenches under his eye. As for the reſt of the inhabitants, he kept them cloſe within the walls; but, at the ſame time, took great care that they ſhould ſuffer no injury of any kind from the Romans; and, by the ſupply of arms, of money, and proviſions, which he ſent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be conſidered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given Pompey, he now gave to Scipio, " Not to riſk a battle with an able and expe- " rienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, " which moſt effectually blaſts the growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his raſhneſs, deſpiſed theſe counſels, and once even ſcrupled not to reproach Cato with cowardice, aſking him, " Whether he could not be ſatisfied " with ſitting ſtill himſelf within walls and bars, unleſs " he hindered others from taking bolder meaſures upon " occaſion." Cato wrote back, " That he was ready to " croſs over into Italy with the horſe and foot which he " had brought into Africa; and, by bringing Cæſar upon " himſelf, to draw him from his deſign againſt Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the propoſal; and it was plain that

that Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, since he saw that Scipio would take no rational scheme for the conduct of the war; and that, if he should, beyond all expectation, succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation to the citizens.—It was, therefore, Cato's judgment, and he often declared it to his friends, "That, by reason of the incapacity and rashness of the "generals, he could hope no good end of the war; and "that, even if victory should declare for them, and Cæsar "be destroyed, for his part, he would not stay at Rome, "but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who "already threw out insolent menaces against many of the "Romans."

The thing came to pass sooner than he expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with news that a great battle had been fought at Thapsus; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba were fled with a few troops, which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of such tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost distraction, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with great confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being possibly exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple of Jupiter, the three hundred, whom he made use of as a council. These were Romans who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money; and to them he added all the senators and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with great composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; and read a book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the stores, the corn, the arms, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter "with "commending the three hundred, for the extraordinary "alacrity and fidelity they had shown in serving the pub-

" lic cauſe with their purſes, their perſons, and their " counſels; and exhorting them not to entertain different " views, or to endeavour to ſave themſelves by flight. " For," continued he, " if you keep in a body, Cæſar will " not hold you in ſuch contempt, if you continue the war; " and you will be more likely to be ſpared, if you have " recourſe to ſubmiſſion. I deſire you will conſider the " point thoroughly, and what reſolution ſoever you may " take, I will not blame you. If you are inclined to go " with the ſtream of fortune, I ſhall impute the change to " the neceſſity of the times. If you bear up againſt their " threatening aſpect, and continue to face danger in the " cauſe of liberty, I will be your fellow-ſoldier, as well " as captain, till our country has experienced the laſt iſſues " of her fate: Our country, which is not in Utica, or " Adrymettum, but Rome; and ſhe, in her vaſt reſources, " has often recovered herſelf from greater falls than this. " Many reſources we certainly have at preſent; and the " principal is, that we have to contend with a man whoſe " occaſions oblige him to attend to various objects. Spain " is gone over to young Pompey, and Rome, as yet un- " accuſtomed to the yoke, is ready to ſpurn it from her, " and to riſe on any proſpect of change. Nor is danger " to be declined. In this you may take your enemy for " a pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in the moſt iniqui- " tous cauſe; whereas, if you ſucceed, you will live ex- " tremely happy; if you miſcarry, the uncertainties of " war will be terminated with a glorious death. How- " ever, deliberate among yourſelves as to the ſteps you " ſhould take, firſt entreating heaven to proſper your de- " terminations, in a manner worthy the courage and zeal " you have already ſhown."

This ſpeech of Cato's inſpired ſome with confidence, and even with hope; and the generality were ſo much af- fected with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, that they almoſt forgot their preſent danger; and looking upon him as the only general that was invin- cible, and ſuperior to all fortune, " They deſired him to " make what uſe he thought proper of their fortunes and " their arms; for that it was better to die under his ban- " ner, than to ſave their lives at the expence of betraying " ſo much virtue." One of the council obſerved the ex- pediency of a decree for enfranchiſing the ſlaves, and many commended

commended the motion: Cato, however, ſaid, "He would "not do that, becauſe it was neither juſt nor lawful; but "ſuch as their maſters would voluntarily diſcharge, he "would receive, provided they were of a proper age to "bear arms." This many promiſed to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered liſts to be made out of all that ſhould offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a ſmall corps, concealed in the mountains, deſired to know Cato's intentions; propoſing to wait for him if he left Utica, or to aſſiſt him if he choſe to ſtand a ſiege. Scipio alſo lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an anſwer on the ſame account.

Cato thought it adviſable to keep the meſſengers till he ſhould know the final determination of the three hundred. All of the patrician order, with great readineſs, enfranchiſed and armed their ſlaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high intereſt, and whoſe ſlaves were a conſiderable part of their fortune, the impreſſion which Cato's ſpeech had made upon them did not laſt long. As ſome bodies eaſily receive heat, and as eaſily grow cold again, when the fire is removed; ſo the ſight of Cato warmed and liberalized theſe traders; but when they came to conſider the matter among themſelves, the dread of Cæſar ſoon put to flight their reverence for Cato, and for virtue; for thus they talked—"What are "we, and what is the man whoſe orders we refuſe to re"ceive? Is it not Cæſar, into whoſe hands the whole power "of the Roman empire is fallen? And ſurely none of us "is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a time "when their fears make all men entertain ſentiments be"neath their dignity? Shall we, in Utica, fight for the "liberty of Rome, with a man againſt whom Cato and "Pompey the Great durſt not make a ſtand in Italy? "Shall we enfranchiſe our ſlaves to oppoſe Cæſar, who "have no more liberty ourſelves than that conqueror is "pleaſed to leave us? Ah! wretches that we are! Let "us at laſt know ourſelves, and ſend deputies to intercede "with him for mercy." This was the language of the moſt moderate among the three hundred: but the greateſt part of them lay in wait for the patricians, thinking, if they could ſeize upon them, they ſhould more eaſily make their peace

with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but made no remonstrances against it; he only wrote Scipio and Juba to keep at a distance from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the mean time, a considerable body of cavalry, who had escaped out of the battle, approached Utica, and dispatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution. For some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and others were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the three hundred, and quietly take down the names of such as offered to set free their slaves, without pretending to use the least compulsion. Then he went out of the town, taking the senators with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators; nor to choose Juba, rather than Cato, for their general, but to join, and mutually contribute to each other's safety, by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and every thing necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears. The officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment, Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the three hundred, who, he said, behaved in a very disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate, and gave into the utmost expressions of grief. But Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requested the three hundred to have patience.

Nor was there any thing moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. The answer from them was, "That they "had no desire to be in the pay of Juba; nor did they "fear Cæsar while they should have Cato for their general; "but to be shut up with Uticans, Phœnicians, who would "change with the wind, was a circumstance which they "could not bear to think of. For," said they, "if they are "quiet now, yet, when Cæsar arrives, they will betray us, "and conspire our destruction. Whoever, therefore, de-"sires us to range under his banners there, must first expel "the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and then call us "into

" into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." Theſe propoſals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and ſavage. However, he mildly anſwered, " That he would " talk with the three hundred about them." Then entering the city again, he applied to that ſet of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, diſſembled or palliated their deſigns. They openly expreſſed their reſentment, that any citizens ſhould preſume to lead them againſt Cæſar, with whom all conteſt was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, ſome went ſo far as to ſay, " That the " ſenators ought to be detained in the town till Cæſar " came." Cato let this paſs as if he heard it not; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed, that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take ſome deſperate ſtep with reſpect to the ſenators; and he therefore went in purſuit of them with his friends. As he found they were got under march, he rode after them. It was with pleaſure they ſaw him approach; and they exhorted him to go with them, and ſave his life with theirs. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, that Cato ſhed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the ſenators. He even turned the heads of ſome of their horſes, and laid hold of their armour, till he prevailed with them to ſtay at leaſt that day, to ſecure the retreat of the ſenators.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to ſome, and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehenſions of being puniſhed for their inconſtancy, and ſent to beg of Cato, by all means, to come and ſpeak to them. But the ſenators would not ſuffer him to go. They ſaid, they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of ſuch perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the cleareſt light, and commanded the higheſt love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident, than that the moſt perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long reſolved to put an end to his being, and yet he ſubmitted to inexpreſſible labours, cares, and conflicts, for others; that, after he had ſecured their lives, he might relinquiſh his own. For his intentions in that reſpect

reſpect, were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, after having ſatisfied the ſenators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred. "They thanked him for the favour, and entreated him to "truſt them, and make uſe of their ſervices; but as they "were not Catos, nor had Cato's dignity of mind, they "hoped he would pity their weakneſs. They told him "they had reſolved to ſend deputies to Cæſar, to inter-"cede firſt and principally for Cato. If that requeſt "ſhould not be granted, they would have no obligation "to him for any favour to themſelves; but as long as they "had breath, would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgements for their regard, and adviſed them to ſend immediately to intercede for themſelves. "For me," ſaid he, "intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn "ſuppliants, and for thoſe who have done an injury to "beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered "through life, and ſuperior in the thing I wiſhed to be; "for in juſtice and honour I am Cæſar's ſuperior. Cæſar "is the vanquiſhed, the falling man, being now clearly "convicted of thoſe deſigns againſt his country, which he "had long denied."

After he had thus ſpoken to the three hundred, he left them; and being informed that Cæſar was already on his march to Utica, "Strange!" ſaid he, "it ſeems "he takes us for men." He then went to the ſenators, and deſired them to haſten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewiſe ſhut all the gates, except that which leads to the ſea; appointed ſhips for thoſe who were to depart; provided for good order in the town; redreſſed grievances; compoſed diſturbances, and furniſhed all who wanted with the neceſſary proviſions for the voyage. About this time, Marcus Octavius * approached the place with two legions; and, as ſoon as he had encamped, ſent to deſire Cato to ſettle with him the buſineſs of the command. Cato gave the meſſengers no anſwer, but turning to his friends, ſaid, "Need we wonder that our cauſe has not proſpered, "when

* The ſame who had commanded Pompey's fleet,

" when we retain our ambition on the very brink of " ruin?"

In the mean time, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans as lawful prize, he haſtened up to them, and ſnatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremoſt; upon which they all threw down what they had got, and retired in ſilence, dejected and aſhamed. He then aſſembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, deſiring them not to exaſperate Cæſar againſt thoſe Romans, but to act in concert with them, and conſult each other's ſafety. After which he returned to the ſea-ſide, to look upon the embarkation; and ſuch of his friends and acquaintance as he could perſuade to go, he embraced, and diſmiſſed with great marks of affection. His ſon was not willing to go with the reſt; and he thought it was not right to inſiſt on his leaving a father he was ſo fond of. There was one Statyllius *, a young man, who affected a firmneſs of reſolution above his years, and, in all reſpects, ſtudied to appear like Cato, ſuperior to paſſion. As this young man's enmity to Cæſar was well known, Cato deſired him by all means to take ſhip with the reſt; and, when he found him bent upon ſtaying, he turned to Apollonides the ſtoic, and Demetrius the peripatetic, and ſaid, " It is your buſineſs to reduce this man's " extravagance of mind, and to make him ſee what is for " his good." He now diſmiſſed all except ſuch as had buſineſs of importance with him; and upon theſe he ſpent that night and great part of the day following.

Lucius Cæſar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, deſired Cato to aſſiſt him in compoſing a ſuitable ſpeech. " And for you," ſaid he, " I ſhall think it an honour to become the moſt " humble ſuppliant, and even to throw myſelf at his feet." Cato, however, would not ſuffer it. " If I choſe to be " indebted," ſaid he, " to Cæſar for my life, I ought to " go in perſon, and without any mediator; but I will not " have any obligation to a tyrant in a buſineſs by which " he ſubverts the laws. And he does ſubvert the laws, " by

* This brave young Roman was the ſame, who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy, to inquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was ſlain in his return by Cæſar's ſoldiers.

" by ſaving, as a maſter, thoſe over whom he has no right " of authority. Nevertheleſs, we will conſider, if you " pleaſe, how to make your application moſt effectual in " behalf of the three hundred."

After he had ſpent ſome time with Lucius Cæſar upon this affair, he recommended his ſon and his friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own houſe. His ſon and the reſt of his friends being aſſembled there, he diſcourſed with them a conſiderable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take no ſhare in the adminiſtration. " For the ſtate of affairs," ſaid he, " is ſuch, " that it is impoſſible for you to fill any office in a manner " worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwiſe, would be un- " worthy of yourſelf."

In the evening he went to the bath; where, bethinking himſelf of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and ſaid, " Have you taken down the pride of that young " man? and is he gone without bidding us farewell?" " No indeed," anſwered the philoſopher, " we have taken " a great deal of pains with him; but he continues as " lofty and reſolute as ever; he ſays he will ſtay, and cer- " tainly follow your conduct." Cato then ſmiled, and ſaid, " That will ſoon be ſeen."

After bathing, he went to ſupper, with a large company, at which he ſate, as he had always done ſince the battle of Pharſalia; for (as we obſerved above) he never now lay down except to ſleep. All his friends, and the magiſtrates of Utica, ſupped with him. After ſupper, the wine was ſeaſoned with much wit and learning; and many queſtions in philoſophy were propoſed and diſcuſſed. In the courſe of the converſation, they came to the paradoxes of the ſtoics (for ſo their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, " That the good man " only is free, and all bad men are ſlaves *. The peripatetic, in purſuance of his principles, took up the argument againſt it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than uſual, carried on a moſt ſpirited diſcourſe to a conſiderable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived, he had determined to put an end to his being,

* This was not only the ſentiment of the ſtoics, but of Socrates.

being, to extricate himſelf from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy ſilence the conſequence of his diſcourſe, he endeavoured to recover the ſpirits of his gueſts, and to remove their ſuſpicions, by talking of their preſent affairs, and expreſſing his fears, both for his friends and partizans who were upon their voyage, and for thoſe who had to make their way through dry deſarts and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his uſual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards ſuch orders as the occaſion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his ſon and his friends at this parting, recalled all their ſuſpicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the immortality of the ſoul; but before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his ſword was not at the head of his bed, where it uſed to hang; for his ſon had taken it away while he was at ſupper. He therefore called his ſervant, and aſked him, who had taken away his ſword. As the ſervant made no anſwer, he returned to his book; and after a while, without any appearance of haſte or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the ſword, he ordered him to bring it. The ſervant ſtill delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book; but then he called his ſervants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his ſword. At laſt he ſtruck one of them ſuch a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raiſing his voice ſtill higher, he cried, "I am "betrayed, and delivered naked to my enemy, by my ſon "and my ſervants." His ſon then ran in with his friends, and, tenderly embracing him, had recourſe to tears and entreaties. But Cato roſe up, and, with a ſtern and awful look, thus expreſſed himſelf:—"When and where did I "ſhow any ſigns of diſtraction, that no body offers to diſ"ſuade me from any purpoſe I may ſeem to be wrong "in, but I muſt be hindered from purſuing my reſolu"tions, thus diſarmed? And you, young man, why do "not you bind your father, bind his hands behind his "back, that when Cæſar comes he may find me utterly "incapable of reſiſtance? As to a ſword, I have no need "of it to diſpatch myſelf; for if I do but hold my breath

" a while, or daſh my head againſt the wall, it will anſwer " the purpoſe as well."

Upon his ſpeaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the reſt, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To theſe philoſophers he addreſſed himſelf in a milder tone:—" Are you alſo " determined to make a man of my age live whether he " will or no? And do you ſit here in ſilence to watch " me? Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, " now Cato has no hopes from any other quarter, it is no " diſhonour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you " begin a lecture to inform me better, that, diſmiſſing the " opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, through " Cæſar's means, grow wiſer, and ſo have a ſtill greater " obligation to him? As yet I have determined nothing " with reſpect to myſelf; but I ought to have it in my " power to put my purpoſe in execution, when I have " formed it. And indeed I ſhall, in ſome meaſure, con- " ſult with you; for I ſhall proceed in my deliberations " upon the principles of your philoſophy. Be ſatisfied, " then, and go tell my ſon, if perſuaſion will not do, not " to have recourſe to conſtraint."

They made no anſwer, but went out, the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The ſword was ſent in by a little boy. He drew, and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, " Now," ſaid he, " I am " maſter of myſelf." Then laying down the ſword, he took up the book again, and, it is ſaid, he peruſed the whole twice *. After which he ſlept ſo ſound, that he was heard by thoſe who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the phyſician, and Butas, whom he generally employed about public buſineſs. The latter he ſent to the port, to ſee whether all the Romans had put off to ſea, and bring him word.

In the mean time he ordered the phyſician to dreſs his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his ſervant. This was ſome conſolation to the whole houſe, for now they thought he had dropt his deſign againſt his life. Soon after this, Butas returned, and informed them, that they were all got off, except Craſſus, who had been detained

* Yet this very dialogue condemns ſuicide in the ſtrongeſt terms.

detained by ſome buſineſs, but that he intended to embark very ſoon, though the wind blew hard, and the ſea was tempeſtuous. Cato, at this news, ſighed in pity of his friends at ſea, and ſent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back, and ſhould be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the * birds began to ſing, and Cato fell again into a little ſlumber. Butas, at his return, told him, all was quiet in the harbour: upon which, Cato ordered him to ſhut the door, having firſt ſtretched himſelf on the bed, as if he deſigned to ſleep out the reſt of the night. But, after Butas was gone, he drew his ſword, and ſtabbed himſelf under the breaſt. However, he could not ſtrike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not preſently expire, but in the ſtruggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that ſtood by.

The noiſe alarming the ſervants, they cried out, and his ſon and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out: at the ſame time he was alive and looked upon them.—They were ſtruck with inexpreſſible horror. —The phyſician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began to ſew up the wound. But as ſoon as Cato came a little to himſelf, he thruſt away the phyſician, plucked out his own bowels, tore open the wound, and immediately expired.

In leſs time than one would think all the family could be informed of this ſad event, the three hundred were at the door; and a little after, all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice calling him "their benefactor, their ſaviour, the only free and unconquered man." This they did, though at the ſame time they had intelligence that Cæſar was approaching. Neither fear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious diſputes that prevailed among themſelves could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a ſplendid proceſſion, buried it near the ſea, where now ſtands his ſtatue, with a ſword in the right hand.

This

* —Ο' ορνις κατελαμβανε την ἑω καλων. Athenæ. l. x.

This great buſineſs over, they began to take meaſures for ſaving themſelves and their city. Cæſar had been informed by perſons who went to ſurrender themſelves, that Cato remained in Utica without any thoughts of flight; that he provided for the eſcape of others indeed, but that himſelf, with his friends and his ſon, lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehenſion. Upon theſe circumſtances he could form no probable conjecture. However, as it was a great point with him, to get him into his hands, he advanced to the place with his army, with all poſſible expedition. And when he had intelligence of Cato's death, he is reported to have uttered this ſhort ſentence, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, ſince thou "couldeſt envy me the glory of ſaving thy life." Indeed, if Cato had deigned to owe his life to Cæſar, he would not ſo much have tarniſhed his own honour, as to have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæſar would have inclined to the merciful ſide.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His ſon ſuffered nothing from Cæſar; but, it is ſaid, he was rather immoral, and that he was cenſured for his conduct with reſpect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the houſe of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handſome wife; and as he ſtaid there a longer time than decency could warrant, ſuch jokes as theſe were paſſed upon him: "Cato goes the morrow after the thirtieth day "of the month." "Porcius and Marphadates are two "friends who have but one *ſoul*;" for the wife of Marphadates was named *Pſyche*, which ſignifies *ſoul*. "Cato "is a great and generous man, and has a royal *ſoul*." Nevertheleſs, he wiped off all aſperſions by his death: for fighting at Philippi againſt Octavius Cæſar and Anthony in the cauſe of liberty, after his party gave way, he diſdained to fly. Inſtead of ſlipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their ſtrength with Cato; he animated ſuch of his troops as ſtood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adverſaries, a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father, either in prudence or in fortitude: for being married to Brutus, who killed Cæſar, ſhe was truſted with the ſecret of the conſpiracy, and put a period to her life in a manner worthy

of

of her birth and of her virtue; as we have related in the life of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promiſed to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have diſpatched himſelf ſoon after him, but was prevented by the philoſophers. He approved himſelf afterwards to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.

AGIS.

IT is not without appearance of probability that ſome think the fable of Ixion deſigned to repreſent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud inſtead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their embrace: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue; and governed by different impulſes, actuated by emulation, and all the variety of paſſions, they produce nothing pure and genuine; the whole iſſue is of a prepoſterous kind. The ſhepherds in Sophocles ſay of their flocks,

> ——Theſe are our ſubjects, yet we ſerve them,
> And liſten to their mute command.

The ſame may be truly affirmed of thoſe great ſtateſmen who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become ſlaves to gain the name of magiſtrates and rulers. As in a ſhip thoſe at the oar can ſee what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders; ſo they who take their meaſures of adminiſtration only with a view to popular applauſe, are called governors indeed, but in fact are no more than ſlaves of the people.

The complete, the honeſt ſtateſman, has no farther regard to the public opinion, than as the confidence it gains him facilitates his deſigns, and crowns them with ſucceſs. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himſelf upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophraſtes ays, when they firſt begin to grow in perſons of that age nd diſpoſition, are cheriſhed and ſtrengthened by praiſe, nd afterwards increaſe in proportion as the love of glory ncreaſes. But an immoderate paſſion for fame, in all affairs

fairs is dangerous, and in political matters deſtructive. For, joined to great authority, this paſſion drives all that are poſſeſſed with it into folly and madneſs, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be alſo good and honeſt. Therefore, as Phocion ſaid to Antipater, when he deſired ſomething of him inconſiſtent with juſtice, "You cannot have "Phocion for your friend and flatterer too;" this, or ſomething like it, ſhould be ſaid to the multitude, "You "cannot have the ſame man both for your governor and "your ſlave." For that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the ſerpent. The tail, it ſeems, one day quarrelled with the head, and, inſtead of being forced always to follow, inſiſted that it ſhould lead in its turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itſelf in a terrible manner; and the head, which was thus obliged, againſt nature, to follow a guide that could neither ſee nor hear, ſuffered likewiſe in its turn. We ſee many under the ſame predicament, whoſe object is popularity in all the ſteps of their adminiſtration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce ſuch diſorders as they can neither redreſs nor reſtrain.

Theſe obſervations on popularity were ſuggeſted to us by conſidering the effects of it in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of diſpoſition, of education, and political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined, not ſo much by an immoderate love of glory, as by a fear of diſgrace, which, in its origin, was not wrong. They had been ſo much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were aſhamed to be behind hand with them in marks of attention. On the contrary, by the moſt acceptable ſervices, they always ſtudied to outdo the honours paid them, and being ſtill more honoured on account of thoſe ſervices, the affection between them and the people became at laſt ſo violent, that it forced them into a ſituation wherein it was in vain to ſay, "Since we are wrong, it would be a ſhame to per-"ſiſt." In the courſe of the hiſtory, theſe obſervations occur.

With thoſe two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they ſtrove to enlarge

the

the privileges of the people, and by reſtoring the juſt and glorious inſtitutions which had long fallen into diſuſe, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the ſuperiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accuſtomed. Theſe Spartans were not indeed brothers; but their actions were of the ſame kindred and complexion; the ſource of which was this:

When the love of money made its way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanneſs in its train, on the one hand, on the other, profuſion, effeminacy, luxury, that ſtate ſoon deviated from its original virtue, and ſunk into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion, the ſon of Eudamidas, the ſixth in deſcent from Ageſilaus, diſtinguiſhed by his expedition into Aſia, and for his eminence in Greece. Ageſilaus was ſucceeded by his ſon Archidamus, who was ſlain by the Meſſapians at * Mandonium in Italy. Agis was the eldeſt ſon of Archidamus, and being ſlain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was ſucceeded by another Archidamus, his ſon, and that prince by another Eudamidas, his ſon likewiſe, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now ſpeaking. Leonidas, the ſon of Cleonymus, was of another branch of the family of the Agiadæ, the eighth in deſcent from that Pauſanias who conquered Mardonius at Platæa. Pauſanias was ſucceeded by his ſon Pliſtonax, and he by another Pauſanias, who being baniſhed to Tegea, left his kingdom to his eldeſt ſon Ageſipolis. He dying without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two ſons, Ageſipolis and Cleomenes. Ageſipolis, after a ſhort reign, died without iſſue, and Cleomenes who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldeſt ſon Acrotatus, left ſurviving another ſon, Cleonymus, who, however, did not ſucceed to the kingdom, which fell to Areus, the ſon of Acrotatus, and grandſon of Cleomenes. Areus being ſlain at Corinth, the crown deſcended to his ſon Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis by the tyrant Ariſtodemus. He left his wife pregnant; and as the child proved to be a ſon, Leonidas, the

* We know of no ſuch place as *Mandonium*. Probably we ſhould read *Mandurium*, which is a city of Japygia, mentioned by the geographers. CELLARIUS, p. 902.

the ſon of Cleonymus, took the guardianſhip of him; and his charge dying in his minority, the crown fell to him. This prince was not agreeable to his people: For though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the reſt for his deviation from the cuſtoms of his anceſtors. He had long been converſant in the courts of the Aſiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus, and he had the indiſcretion to introduce the pomp of thoſe courts into a Grecian ſtate, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almoſt all the kings who reigned before him ſince the great Ageſilaus, in goodneſs of diſpoſition and dignity of mind: for though brought up in the greateſt affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition, under his mother Ageſiſtrata, and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richeſt perſons in Lacedemonia; yet before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war againſt pleaſure; and, to prevent any vanity which the beauty of his perſon might have ſuggeſted, he diſcarded all unneceſſary ornament and expence, and conſtantly appeared in a plain Lacedemonian cloak. In his diet, his bathing, and in all his exerciſes, he kept cloſe to the Spartan ſimplicity; and he often uſed to ſay, that the crown was no farther an object of deſire to him, than as it might enable him to reſtore the laws and ancient diſcipline of his country.

The firſt ſymptoms of corruption and diſtemper in their commonwealth appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely deſtroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and ſilver into Lacedemon. Nevertheleſs, the *agrarian* law eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus ſtill ſubſiſting, and the lots of land deſcending undiminiſhed from father to ſon, order and equality in ſome meaſure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the ſame time factious and ill natured, being appointed one of the *ephori*, and having a quarrel with his ſon, procured a law, that all men ſhould have liberty to alienate * their eſtates

* It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws, impowering the nobility to alienate their eſtates, and by that means to reduce their power; for the nobility in thoſe times were no better than ſo many petty tyrants.

eſtates in their lifetime, or to leave them to whom they pleaſed at their death. It was to indulge his private reſentment, that this man propoſed the decree, which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the beſt inſtitution in the world was abrogated. Men of fortune now extended their landed eſtates without bounds, not ſcrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the reſt of the people were poor and miſerable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts or exerciſes, being obliged to drudge in mean and mechanic employments for their bread, and conſequently looking with envy and hatred on the rich. There remained not above ſeven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which perhaps one hundred had eſtates in land. The reſt of the city was filled with an inſignificant rabble, without property or honour, who had neither heart nor ſpirit to defend their country againſt wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For theſe reaſons Agis, thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to bring the citizens again to an equality, and by that means repleniſh Sparta, with reſpectable inhabitants. For this purpoſe he founded the inclinations of his ſubjects. The young men liſtened to him with a readineſs far beyond his expectation: they adopted the cauſe of virtue with him, and for the ſake of liberty, changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But moſt of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus, as a fugitive ſlave, when brought back, is of that of his maſter. They inveighed, therefore, againſt Agis for lamenting the preſent ſtate of things, and deſiring to reſtore the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lyſander the ſon of Libys, Mandroclidas the ſon of Ecphanes, and Ageſilaus, not only came into his glorious deſigns, but co-operated with them.

Lyſander had great reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man underſtood the intereſts of Greece better than Mandroclidas, and with his ſhrewdneſs and capacity he had a proper mixture of ſpirit. As for Ageſilaus, he was uncle to the king, and a man of great eloquence, but at the ſame time effeminate and avaricious. However,

he was animated to this enterprise by his son Hippomedon, who had distinguished himself in many wars, and was respectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his person. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the thing which really persuaded Agesilaus to embark in the design, was the greatness of his debts, which he hoped to be cleared of by a change in the constitution.

As soon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured, with his assistance, to bring his own mother into the scheme. She was sister to Agesilaus, and by her extensive connections, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money, had great influence in Sparta, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. Upon the first intimation of the thing, she was quite astonished at it, and dissuaded the young man, as much as possible, from measures which she looked upon as neither practicable nor salutary. But Agesilaus showed her that they might easily be brought to bear, and that they would prove of the greatest utility to the state. The young prince, too, entreated his mother to sacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition. "It is impossible," said he, "for me ever "to vie with other kings in point of opulence. The "domestics of an Asiatic grandee, nay, the servants of "the stewards of Ptolemy and Seleucus were richer "than all the Spartan kings put together. But if by "sobriety, by simplicity of provision for the body, and "by greatness of mind, I can do something which shall "far exceed all their pomp and luxury, I mean the making "an equal partition of property among all the citizens, I "shall really become a great king, and have all the ho-"nour that such actions demand."

This address changed the opinions of the women. They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue as it were by inspiration, and, in their turn, hastened Agis to put his scheme in execution. They sent for their friends, and recommended the affair to them; and they did the same to the other matrons. For they knew that the Lacedemonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public business than the men are with the domestic. This, indeed, was the principal obstruction

tion to Agis's enterprise. Great part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women; consequently they opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications, in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought them to place their happiness; but because they saw they must also lose that honour and power which follow property. They therefore applied to Leonidas, the other king, and desired him, as the older man, to put a stop to the projects of Agis.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people who were very desirous of the change, he did not oppose it openly. Privately, however, he strove to blast the design, by applying to the magistrates, and invidiously represented, "That Agis offered the poor a share "in the estates of the rich, as the price of absolute power; "and that the distribution of lands, and cancelling of "debts, was only a means to purchase guards for himself, "not citizens for Sparta."

Agis, however, having interest to get Lysander elected one of the *ephori*, took the first opportunity to propose his *rhetra* to the senate; according to which, "Debtors were "to be released from their obligations; and lands to be "divided in the following manner:—Those that lay between the valley of Pellene and Mount Taygetus, as "as far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be distributed in "four thousand five hundred equal lots; fifteen thousand "lots were to be made of the remaining territory, which "should be shared among the neighbouring inhabitants, "who were able to bear arms. As to what lay within the "limits first mentioned, Spartans were to have the preference; but if their number fell short, it should be "made up out of strangers, who were unexceptionable in "point of person, condition, and education. These were "to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, some of two hundred, who were to eat together, "and keep to the diet and discipline enjoined by the laws "of Lycurgus."

The decree thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; and he, with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus, in their discourse to the citizens, entreated them not to suffer the few to insult the many, or to see with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot.

They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles, which bade them beware of the love of money, as a vice the most ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphæ, which gave them the same warning. For Pasiphæ had a temple and oracle at Thalamiæ *. Some say, this Pasiphæ was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a son, named Ammon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra †, the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of *Pasiphæ* ‡, from her answering the questions of all that consulted her. But Philarchus says, she was no other than Daphne the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from the solicitations of Apollo, was turned into a laurel, and afterwards honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly, and, after a short speech, declared, that he would contribute largely to the institution he recommended. He would first give up to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land, and of six hundred talents in money; then his mother and grandmother, all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the magnificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced, that now, after the space of three hundred years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered that he should be obliged to do the same with his colleague, without finding the same acknowledgements from

* Those who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goddess revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream. Cic. de div. l. 1.

† Pausanias would incline one to think that this was the goddess Ino. "On the road between Oetylus and Thalamiæ," says he, "is the "temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who consult her to sleep "in her temple, and what they want to know is revealed to them in "a dream. In the court of the temple are two statues of brass, one of "*Paphia*, [it ought to be *Pasiphæ*] the other of the sun. That which "is in the temple is so covered with garlands and fillets, that it is not "to be seen; but it is said to be of brass."

‡ Δια το πασι φαινειν μαντεια.

from the people: that all would be equally under a neceſſity of giving up their fortunes, and that he who firſt ſet the example, would alone reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether he thought Lycurgus "a juſt and good man?" Agis anſwering in the affirmative, Leonidas thus went on—"But did Lycurgus ever "order juſt debts to be cancelled, or beſtow the freedom "of Sparta upon ſtrangers? Did he not rather think his "commonwealth could not be in a ſalutary ſtate, except "ſtrangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He "did not wonder that Leonidas, who was educated in a "foreign country, and had children by an intermarriage "with a Perſian family, ſhould be ignorant that Lycurgus, "in baniſhing money, baniſhed both debts and uſury "from Lacedemon. As for ſtrangers, he excluded only "thoſe who were not likely to conform to his inſtitutions, "or fit to claſs with his people. For he did not diſlike "them merely as ſtrangers; his exceptions were to their "manners and cuſtoms, and he was afraid that, by "mixing with his Spartans, they would infect them with "their luxury, effeminacy and avarice. Terpander, "Thales, and Pherecydes, were ſtrangers, yet becauſe "their poetry and philoſophy moved in concert with the "maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in great honour "at Sparta. Even you commend Ecprepes, who, when "he was one of the *ephori*, retrenched the two ſtrings "which Phrynis the muſician had added to the ſeven of "the harp; you commend thoſe who did the ſame by "Timotheus *; and yet you complain of our intention "to baniſh ſuperfluity, pride and luxury, from Sparta. "Do you think that in retrenching the ſwelling and ſu-"pernumerary graces of muſic they had no farther view, "and that they were not afraid the exceſs and diſorder "would reach the lives and manners of the people, and "deſtroy the harmony of the ſtate?"

From this time the common people followed Agis. But the rich entreated Leonidas not to give up their cauſe; and they exerted their intereſt ſo effectually with the ſenate, whoſe chief power lay in previouſly determining what laws

* Timotheus the Mileſian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and muſician. He added even a twelfth ſtring to the harp, for which he was ſeverely puniſhed by the ſage Spartans, who concluded that luxury of ſound would effeminate the people.

ſhould be propoſed to the people, that they carried it againſt the *rhètra* by a majority of one. Lyſander, however, being yet in office, reſolved to proſecute Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every deſcendant of Hercules to have children by a woman that is a ſtranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to ſettle in a foreign country. He inſtructed others to allege theſe things againſt Leonidas, while he, with his colleagues, watched for a ſign from heaven. It was the cuſtom for the *ephori* every ninth year, on a clear ſtar-light night, when there was no moon, to ſit down, and in ſilence obſerve the heavens. If a ſtar happened to ſhoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of ſome crime againſt the gods, and ſuſpended them till they were re-eſtabliſhed by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lyſander affirming that the ſign had appeared to him, ſummoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witneſſes to prove that he had two children by an Aſiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus's lieutenants had given him to wife; but that, on her conceiving a mortal averſion to him, he returned home againſt his will, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this ſuit, he perſuaded Cleombrotus, ſon-in-law to Leonidas, and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva, in the *Chalcioecus* *, as a ſuppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the interceſſion. He was re-ſummoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was depoſed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lyſander's time expired, and he quitted his office. The *ephori* of the enſuing year liſtened to the ſupplication of Leonidas, and conſented to reſtore him. They likewiſe began a proſecution againſt Lyſander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and diſtribution of lands, which thoſe magiſtrates agreed to contrary to law. In this danger, they perſuaded the two kings to unite their intereſt, and to deſpiſe the machinations of the *ephori*. "Theſe magiſtrates," ſaid they, "have "no power but what they derive from ſome difference be-"tween the kings. In ſuch a caſe they have a right to ſupport

* Minerva had a temple at Sparta entirely of braſs.

" support with their ſuffrage the prince whoſe meaſures " are ſalutary, againſt the other who conſults not the " public good; but when the kings are unanimous, no- " thing can over-rule their derterminations. To reſiſt " them is then to fight againſt the laws. For, as we ſaid, " they can only decide between the king's in caſe of diſa- " greement; when their ſentiments are the ſame, the " *ephori* have no right to interpoſe."

The kings, prevailed upon by this argument, entered the place of aſſembly with their friends, where they removed the *ephori* from their ſeats, and placed others in their room. Ageſilaus was one of theſe new magiſtrates. They then armed a great number of the youth, and releaſed many out of priſon; upon which, their adverſaries were ſtruck with terror, expecting that many lives would be loſt. However, they put not one man to the ſword: on the contrary, Agis underſtanding that Ageſilaus deſigned to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted aſſaſſins for that purpoſe on the way, generouſly ſent a party of men whom he could depend upon, to eſcort him, and they conducted him ſafe to Tegea.

Thus the buſineſs went on with all the ſucceſs they could deſire, and they had no farther oppoſition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, ſo worthy of Lacedemon, miſcarried through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile diſeaſe of avarice in Ageſilaus. He was poſſeſſed of a large and fine eſtate in land, but at the ſame time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts, nor willing to part with his land, he repreſented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried into execution at the ſame time, it would probably raiſe great commotions in Sparta; but if he firſt obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterwards quietly and readily conſent to the diſtribution of lands. Ageſilaus drew Lyſander, too, into the ſame ſnare. An order, therefore, was iſſued for bringing in all bonds (the Lacedemonians call them *claria*) and they were piled together in the market-place, and burnt. When the fire began to burn, the uſurers and other creditors walked off in great diſtreſs. But Ageſilaus, in a ſcoffing way, ſaid, " He never ſaw a brighter or more glorious flame."

The common people demanded that the diſtribution of lands ſhould alſo be made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Ageſilaus found out ſome pretence or other for delay, 'till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for ſuccours. For they expected that the Ætolians would take the route through the territory of Megara, and enter Peloponneſus. Aratus, general of the Achæans, aſſembled an army to prevent it, and wrote to the *ephori* for aſſiſtance.

They immediately ſent Agis upon that ſervice; and that prince went out with the higheſt hopes, on account of the ſpirit of his men and their attachment to his perſon. They were moſt of them young men in very indifferent circumſtances, who being now releaſed from their debts, and expecting a diviſion of lands if they returned from the war, ſtrove to recommend themſelves as much as poſſible to Agis. It was a moſt agreeable ſpectacle to the cities, to ſee them march through Peloponneſus without committing the leaſt violence, and with ſuch diſcipline, that they were ſcarce heard as they paſſed. The Greeks ſaid one to another, "With what excellent order and decency muſt "the armies under Ageſilaus, Lyſander, or Ageſilaus of "old, have moved, when we find ſuch exact obedience, "ſuch reverence in theſe Spartans to a general who is, "perhaps, the youngeſt man in the whole army!" Indeed, this young prince's ſimplicity of diet, his love of labour, and his affecting no ſhow either in his dreſs or arms above a private ſoldier, made all the common people, as he paſſed, look upon him with pleaſure and admiration: but his new regulations at Lacedæmon diſpleaſed the rich, and they were afraid that he might raiſe commotions every where among the commonalty, and put them upon following the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he ſhowed a proper courage and ſpirit without any enthuſiaſtic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they "ſhould give battle, and not ſuffer the war to enter the "gates of Peloponneſus. He would do, however, what "Aratus thought moſt expedient, becauſe he was the "older man, and general of the Achæans, whom he came "not to dictate to, but to aſſiſt in the war."

It

It must be acknowledged that Bato * of Sinope relates it in another manner. He says, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes by way of apology for himself upon this point. That general tells us, "That as the husbandmen had almost finished their harvest, he thought it better to let the enemy pass, than to hazard by a battle the loss of the whole country." Therefore, when Aratus determined not to fight, and dismissed his allies with compliments on their readiness to serve him, Agis, who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where by this time internal troubles and changes demanded his presence.

Agesilaus, still one of the *ephori*, and delivered from the pressure of debt which had weighed down his spirits, scrupled no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not come, and insisted on the people's paying supernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid, however, of revenge from those he had injured, and seeing himself hated by all the world, he thought it necessary to maintain a guard, which always attended him to the senate-house. As to the kings, he expressed an utter contempt for one of them; and the respect he paid the other he would have understood it to be, rather on account of his being his kinsman, than his wearing the crown. Besides, he propagated a report, that he should be one of the *ephori* the year following. His enemies, therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt against him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. The people saw it with pleasure; for they were angry at finding themselves deceived with respect to the promised distribution of lands. Agesilaus had hardly escaped their fury, had not his son Hippomedon, who was held in great esteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

The kings both took sanctuary, Agis in *Chalcioecus*, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was against the latter that Leonidas was most incensed; and therefore passing Agis by, he went with a party of soldiers to seize

* He wrote the history of Persia.

Cleombrotus, whom he reproached, in terms of reſentment, with conſpiring againſt him, though honoured with his alliance, depriving him of the crown, and baniſhing him his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to ſay, but ſat in the deepeſt diſtreſs and ſilence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done her father as done to herſelf; when Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, ſhe left him, to conſole her father in his misfortune. While he was in ſanctuary, ſhe ſtayed with him, and when he retired ſhe attended him in his flight, ſympathiſing with his ſorrow, and full of reſentment againſt Cleombrotus. But when the fortunes of her father changed, ſhe changed too. She joined her huſband as a ſuppliant, and was found ſitting by him with great marks of tenderneſs, and her two children, one on each ſide, at her feet. The whole company were much ſtruck at the ſight, and they could not refrain from tears when they conſidered her goodneſs of heart, and ſuch ſuperior inſtances of affection.

Chelonis then, pointing to her mourning habit and diſhevelled hair, thus addreſſed Leonidas. "It was not, my "dear father, compaſſion for Cleombrotus, which put me "in this habit, and gave me this look of miſery. My "ſorrows took their date with your misfortunes and your "baniſhment, and have ever ſince remained my familiar "companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, "and are again king of Sparta, ſhould I ſtill retain theſe "enſigns of affliction, or aſſume feſtival and royal orna"ments, while the huſband of my youth, whom you gave "me, falls a victim to your vengeance. If his own ſub"miſſion, if the tears of his wife and children, cannot pro"pitiate you, he muſt ſuffer a ſeverer puniſhment for his "offences than you require—he muſt ſee his beloved wife "die before him. For how can I live and ſupport the "ſight of my own ſex, after both my huſband and my fa"ther have refuſed to hearken to my ſupplication—when "it appears, that, both as a wife and a daughter, I am born "to be miſerable with my family? If this poor man had "any plauſible reaſons for what he did, I obviated them "all, by forſaking him to follow you. But you furniſh him "with a ſufficient apology for his miſbehaviour, by ſhow"ing that a crown is ſo great and deſirable an object, that

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"a son-in-law must be slain, and a daughter utterly disre-
"garded, where that is in the question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek on her husband's head, and with an eye dim and languid with sorrow looked round on the spectators. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not leave so affectionate a father, who had been kind enough to grant her her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband was risen from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and, after having paid due homage at the altar where they had taken sanctuary, she went with him into banishment: so that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile, with such a woman, a greater happiness than a kingdom without her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the *ephori* removed, and others put in their place, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share in the government: "For the people," he said, "thought he might "well be pardoned, as a young man ambitious of ho-"nour; and the rather because they, as well as he, had "been deceived by the craft of Agesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Democrates, and Arcesilaus, used to give Agis their company, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and, after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed a great deal of plate and other rich furniture of Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. On this account he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the *ephori*, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis spent the rest of his time in the temple, and only went out to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. Therefore, one day on his return, they met him with a great appearance of friendship, and, as they conducted him on his way, converted with much free-

dom and gaiety, which his youth and their intimacy with him seemed to warrant. But when they came to the turning of a street which led to the prison, Amphares, by virtue of his office, arrested him. "I take you, Agis," said he, "into custody, in order to your giving account to the *ephori* of your administration." At the same time, Demochares, who was a tall strong man, wrapped his cloak about his head, and dragged him off. The rest, as they had previously concerted the thing, pushed him on behind, and no one coming to his rescue or assistance, he was committed to prison.

Leonidas presently came with a strong band of mercenaries, to secure the prison without; and the *ephori* entered it, with such senators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial process, with demanding what he had to say in defence of his proceedings; and as the young prince only laughed at their dissimulation, Amphares told him, "They would soon make him weep for his presumption." Another of the *ephori*, seeming inclined to put him in a way of excusing himself, and getting off, asked him, "Whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not forced him into the measures he took?" But Agis answered, "I was forced by no man; it was my attachment to the institutions of Lycurgus, and my desire to imitate him, which made me adopt his form of government." Then the same magistrate demanded, "Whether he repented of what he had done?" and his answer was, "I shall never repent of so glorious a design, though I see death before my eyes." Upon this they passed sentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the *decade*, which is a small apartment in the prison, where they strangle malefactors. But the officers durst not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; for they thought it impious to lay violent hands on a king. Demochares seeing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to punish them. At the same time, he laid hold on Agis himself, and thrust him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into custody, and there was a great concourse of people at the prison-gates with lanthorns and torches. Among the numbers who resented these proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out, and

begging

begging that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full assembly. But this, instead of procuring him a respite, hastened his execution; for they were afraid he would be rescued in the night, if the tumult should increase.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears; upon which he said, "My friend, dry up your tears; for as I suffer inno-"cently, I am in a better condition than those who con-"demn me contrary to law and justice." So saying, he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner.

Amphares then going to the gate, Agesistrata threw herself at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendship. He raised her from the ground, and told her, "No farther violence should be offered her son, nor should "he now have any hard treatment." He told her, too, she might go in and see her son, if she pleased. She desired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares assured her, there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be locked again, and Archidamia to be first introduced. She was very old, and had lived in great honour and esteem among the Spartans. After she was put to death, he ordered Agesistrata to walk in. She did so, and beheld her son extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She assisted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her son, and kissing him, she said, "My "son, thy too great moderation, lenity, and humanity, "have ruined both thee and us." Amphares, who from the door saw and heard all that passed, went up in great fury to Agesistrata, and said, "If you approved your son's "actions, you shall also have his reward." She rose up to meet her fate, and said, with a sigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

When these events were reported in the city, and the three corpses carried out, the terror the sad scene inspired was not so great, but that the people openly expressed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares. For they were persuaded, that there had not been such a train of villanous and impious actions at Sparta, since the Dorians first inhabited Peleponnesus. The majesty of the kings of Sparta had been held in such vene-

veneration even by their enemies, that they had scrupled to strike them, when they had opportunity for it in battle. Hence it was, that in the many actions between the Lacedemonians and the other Greeks, the former had lost only their king Cleombrotus, who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra, a little before the times of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who, as the Messenians affirm, was slain by Aristomenes, the Lacedemonians deny it, and say he was only wounded. That indeed is a matter of some dispute; but it is certain that Agis was the first king of Lacedemon put to death by the *ephori;* and that he suffered only for engaging in an enterprise that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age at which even errors are considered as pardonable. His friends had more reason to complain of him than his enemies, for saving Leonidas, and trusting his associates, in the undesigning generosity and goodness of his heart.

CLEOMENES.

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the same fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince saved himself by a timely retreat. However, his wife Agiatis, who was newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own house, and given to his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not quite come to years of maturity; but his father was not willing that any other man should have the lady; for she was daughter to Gylippus, and heiress to his great estate; and in beauty, as well as happiness of temper and conduct, superior to all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match; but found all her efforts ineffectual. Therefore, when she was married to Cleomenes, she made him a good and affectionate wife, though she hated his father. Cleomenes was passionately fond of her from the first; and his attachment to his wife made him sympathise with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often ask her for the history of that unfortunate prince, and listen with great attention to her account of his sentiments and designs.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatness of mind. Nature had, moreover, disposed him

to

to temperance and simplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit had an ardour in it; and there was an impetuosity in his pursuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He thought it most glorious to reign over a willing people; but at the same time he thought it not inglorious to subdue their reluctances, and bring them, against their inclinations, into what was good and salutary.

He was not satisfied with the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta. He saw that ease and pleasure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and, if no body gave him any disturbance, chose to spend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; that individuals, entirely actuated by self-interest, paid no attention to the business of the state, any farther than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the prospect still more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to strong exercises, and strict temperance, to persevering fortitude, and universal equality, since the proposing of these things cost Agis his life.

It is said too, that Cleomenes was instructed in philosophy, at a very early period of life, by Sphærus the Borysthenite *, who came to Lacedemon, and taught the youth with great diligence and success. Sphærus was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citiean †; and it seems that he admired the strength of genius he found in Cleomenes, and added fresh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed, that when Leonidas of old was asked, "What he thought of the poetry of Tyrtæus," he said, "I think it well calculated to excite the courage of our "youth; for the enthusiasm with which it inspires them "makes them fear no danger in battle." So the Stoic philosophy ‡ may put persons of great and fiery spirits upon enterprises that are too desperate; but in those of a grave and

* This Sphærus was born towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flourished under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Lærtius has given us a catalogue of his works, which were considerable. He was the scholar of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthus.

† He was so called to distinguish him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flourished about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citiean. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town in Cyprus.

‡ From its tendency to inspire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of providence.

and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and utterly neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, or ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself had only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the *ephori*. He, therefore, soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called *inspiration*. Him he first sounded; inquiring of him what kind of prince Agis was; by what steps, and with what associates, he came into the way he took. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of all the proceedings. But when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in the new schemes of Agis, as to desire to hear them again and again, he reproved his distempered inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. However, he did not acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding; but only said, "Cleomenes knew very "well." As Xenares so strongly opposed the king's project, he thought others must be as little disposed to come into it; and therefore he concerted the whole matter by himself. In the persuasion, that he could more easily effect his intended change in time of war than in peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint. For Aratus, who was the leading man among them, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus to one body. This was the end he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all the proceedings of government, during the many years that he held the reins in Achaia. And, indeed, he was of opinion, that this was the only way to secure Peloponnesus against its enemies without. He had succeeded with most of the states of that peninsula; the Lacedemonians and Eleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedemonian interest, were all that stood out. Upon the death of Leonidas, he commenced hostilities against the Arcadians,

Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans; by this means designing to try how the Lacedemonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as a young man without experience.

The *ephori*, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum * near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes accordingly took it and fortified it. Aratus made no remonstrance, but marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. However, the persons who had promised to betray those places to him, found their hearts fail them, when it came to the point; and he retired, undiscovered, as he thought. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him, in a familiar way, desiring to know, "Whither he marched the night before." Aratus answered, "That, understanding his design to fortify "Belbina, the intent of his last motion was to prevent "that measure." Cleomenes humorously replied, "I am "satisfied with the account of your march; but should be "glad to know where those torches and ladders were "marching."

Aratus could not help laughing at the jest; and he asked what kind of man this young prince was. Democrates, a Lacedemonian exile, answered, "If you design to do "any thing against the Spartans, you must do it quickly, "before the spurs of this cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse and three hundred foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The *ephori*, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed. But finding that, in consequence of this retreat, Aratus had taken Caphyæ, they ordered him to take the field again. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos. Whereupon the Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle. But Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young prince's spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Aratus to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose army consisted not of more than five thousand men.

* A temple of Minerva.

men. Cleomenes, elevated with this ſucceſs, began to talk in higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expreſſion of one of their ancient kings, who ſaid, "The Lacedemonians ſeldom inquired the number "of their enemies, but the place where they could be "found."

After this, he went to the aſſiſtance of the Eleans, againſt whom the Achæans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lycæum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only ſpreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many priſoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was of the number of the ſlain. Aratus, availing himſelf in the beſt manner of the opportunity, with the troops that attended in his flight, marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by ſurpriſe, took it, and ſecured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedemonians, greatly diſpirited at this loſs, oppoſed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He, therefore, bethought himſelf of calling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from Meſſene, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged. For he imagined that the power of the *ephori* would not be ſo formidable, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan conſtitution, was complete, and had its proper weight in the ſcale. The party that had put Agis to death, perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the throne, took this method to prevent it. They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even aſſiſted him in his return; but they aſſaſſinated him immediately after. Whether it was againſt the conſent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether his friends perſuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot take upon us to ſay. The greateſt part of the blame, however, fell upon thoſe friends, who, if he gave his conſent, were ſuppoſed to have teazed him into it.

By this time he was reſolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution; and therefore he bribed the *ephori* to permit him to renew the war. He gained alſo many others by the aſſiſtance of his mother Crateſiclea, who liberally ſupplied him with money, and joined in his ſchemes of glory. Nay, it is ſaid, that, though diſin-

diſinclined to marry again, for her ſon's ſake ſhe accepted a man who had great intereſt and authority among the people.

One of his firſt operations was, the going to ſeize Leuctra, which is a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achæans haſtened to its relief, under the command of Aratus; and a battle was fought under the walls, in which part of the Lacedemonian army was beaten. But Aratus ſtopping the purſuit at a defile which was in the way, Lyciadas *, the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry under his command to purſue the advantage they had gained; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other incloſures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into great diſorder. Cleomenes, ſeeing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them; and Lyſiadas, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and ſlain. The Lacedemonians thus encouraged, returned to the action with ſhouts of joy, and routed the whole Achæan army. After a conſiderable carnage, a truce was granted the ſurvivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lyſiadas to be brought to him. He clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head; and, in this attire, he ſent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was that Lyſiadas who reſtored liberty to the city in which he was an abſolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, greatly elated with this victory, thought, if matters were at once entirely at his diſpoſal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to ſtand before him. For this reaſon he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law Megiſtonus, that the yoke of the *ephori* ought to be broken, and an equal diviſion of property to be made; by means of which equality Sparta would reſume her ancient valour, and once more riſe to the empire of Greece. Megiſtonus complied, and the king then took two or three other friends into the ſcheme.

About that time, one of the *ephori* had a ſurpriſing dream, as he ſlept in the temple of Paſiphæ. He thought, that, in

* In the text it is *Lyſiadas*. But Polybius calls him *Lyſiadas*, and ſo does Plutarch in another place.

in the court where the *ephori* used to sit for the dispatch of business, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the sanctuary, which said, "This is best for Sparta." The magistrate related this vision of his to Cleomenes, who at first was greatly disconcerted, thinking that some suspicion had led him to sound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the case, he was the more confirmed in his purpose; and taking with him such of the citizens as he thought most likely to oppose it, he marched against Heræa and Alsæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, and took them. After this, he laid in store of provisions at Orchomenus, and then besieged Mantinea. At last he so harassed the Lacedemonians by a variety of long marches, that most of them desired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only. By the way he communicated his design to such of them as he believed most attached to his interest, and advanced slowly, that he might come upon the *ephori* as they were at supper.

When he approached the town, he sent Euryclidas before him to the hall where those magistrates used to sup, upon pretence of his being charged with some message relative to the army. He was accompanied by Therieion and Phœbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call *Samothracians**. These were at the head of a small party. While Euryclidas was holding the *ephori* in discourse, the others ran upon them with their drawn swords. They were all slain but Agesilaus, and he was then thought to have shared the same fate; for he was the first man that fell: but in a little time he conveyed himself silently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was the

* All the commentators agree that Σαμοθρακας is a corruption. Palmerias proposes to read Πυθιοι, *Pythium*. So at Sparta they called two persons whom the king sent to consult the oracle of Apollo, and who used to eat at the kings table. But Πυθιοι is very distant in sound from Σαμοθρακας. The editor of the former English translation, proposes, by no means unhappily, to read ἐμοθραντας, which is synonymous to συντροφυς. Proper regard ought to be paid, tod, to the conjecture of Bryan and Du Soul, who offer us Σαμαντορας. This signifies *persons who give the signal of battle, præfects, generals.*

the temple of FEAR. This temple was generally shut up, but then happened to be open. When he was got in, he immediately barred the door. The other four were dispatched outright; and so were above ten more who came to their assistance. Those who remained quiet, received no harm; nor were any hindered from departing the city. Nay, Agesilaus himself was spared, when he came the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedemonians have not only temples dedicated to FEAR, but also to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and many of the passions. Nor do they pay homage to *fear*, as one of the noxious and destroying demons, but they consider it as the best cement of society. Hence it was, that the *ephori*, (as Aristotle tells us) when they entered upon their office, caused proclamation to be made, that the people should shave their upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the necessity of having recourse to severity. As for the shaving of the upper lip, in my opinion, all the design of that injunction is, to teach the youth obedience in the smallest matters. And it seems to me, that the ancients did not think that valour consists in an exemption from fear; but, on the contrary in the fear of reproach, and the dread of infamy. For those who stand most in fear of the law, act with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy; and they who are most tender of their reputation, look with the least concern upon other dangers. Therefore one of the poets said well,

Ingenuous shame resides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen say to her father-in-law, Priam,

Before thy presence, father, I appear
With conscious shame, and reverential fear. POPE.

And, in another place, he says, the Grecian troops

With fear and silence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence, in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of fear. And, therefore, the Lacedemonians placed the temple of FEAR near the hall where the *ephori* used to eat, to show that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next

Next day Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it necessary to expel; and he removed all the seats of the *ephori* except one, in which he designed to sit himself, to hear causes, and dispatch other business. Then he assembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His speech was to this effect: "The administration was put by Lycurgus in the hands of "the kings and the senate; and Sparta was governed "by them a long time, without any occasion for other "magistrates. But, as the Messenian war was drawn out "to a great length, and the kings, having the armies "to command, had not leisure to attend to the decision "of causes at home, they pitched upon some of their "friends to be left as their deputies, for that purpose, "under the title of *ephori*, or *inspectors*. At first they be-"haved as substitutes and servants to the kings; but, by "little and little, they got the power into their own "hands, and insensibly erected their office into an inde-"pendent magistracy *. A proof of this, is a custom "which has obtained till this time, that when the *ephori* "sent for the king, he refused to hearken to the first and "second message, and did not attend them till they sent "a third. Asteropus was the first of the *ephori*, who "raised their office to that height of authority many ages "after their creation. While they kept within the bounds "of moderation, it was better to endure than to remove "them; but when, by their usurpations, they destroyed "the ancient form of government, when they deposed "some kings, put others to death without any form of "trial, and threatened those princes who desire to see the "divine constitution of their country in its original lustre, "they became absolutely insupportable. Had it been "possible, without the shedding of blood, to have exter-"minated those pests which they had introduced into La-"cedæmon; such as luxury, superfluous expence, debts, "usury, and those more ancient evils, poverty and riches, "I should then have thought myself the happiest of kings. "In curing the distempers of my country, I should have "been

* When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it necessary to curb it by the institution of the *ephori*. But they were not as Cleomenes says; they were, in their first establishment, ministers to the kings.

" been considered as the physician whose lenient hand " heals without giving pain. But for what necessity has " obliged me to do, I have the authority of Lycurgus, " who, though neither king nor magistrate, but only a " private man, took upon him to act as a king *, and ap- " peared publicly in arms. The consequence of which " was, that Charilaus, the reigning prince, in great con- " sternation, fled to the altar. But being a mild and pa- " triotic king, he soon entered into the designs of Ly- " curgus, and accepted his new form of government. " Therefore, the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evidence, " that it is next to impossible to new-model a constitution " without the terror of an armed force. For my own " part, I have applied that remedy with great moderation; " only ridding myself of such as opposed the true interest " of Lacedemon. Among the rest, I shall make a distri- " bution of all the lands, and clear the people of their " debts. Among the strangers, I shall select some of " the best and ablest, that they may be admitted citizens " of Sparta, and protect her with their arms; and that " we may no longer see Laconia a prey to the Ætolians " and Illyrians, for want of a sufficient number of inhabi- " tants concerned for its defence."

When he had finished his speech, he was the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His father-in-law Megistonus, and his other friends, followed his example. The rest of the citizens did the same; and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they should all be recalled when tranquillity had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the best of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raised a body of four thousand foot, whom he taught to use the two-handed pike, instead of the javelin, and to hold their shields by a handle, and not by a ring, as before. Then he applied himself to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the strictness of the Lacedemonian discipline; in the course of which he was much assisted by Sphærus. Their schools of exercise, and their refectories, were soon brought into that

* Lycurgus never assumed or aspired to regal authority; and Cleomenes mentions this only to take off the odium from himself.

that good order, which they had of old; ſome being reduced to it by compulſion, but the greateſt part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. However, to prevent any offence that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclidas his partner in the throne; and this was the only time that the Spartans had two kings of the ſame family.

He obſerved that the Achæans, and Aratus, the principal man among them, were perſuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unſettled ſtate; and that he would not quit the city while it was in ſuch a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility, to ſhow the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In conſequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he ſpread deſolation, and made a very conſiderable booty. In one of his laſt marches, he ſeized a company of comedians who were on the road from Meſſene; upon which he built a ſtage in the enemy's country; propoſed a prize of forty *minæ* to the beſt performer; and ſpent one day in ſeeing them. Not that he ſet any great value on ſuch diverſions, but he did it by way of inſult upon the enemy, to ſhow his ſuperiority by this mark of contempt. For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, jugglers, ſingers, and dancers, of both ſexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public ſhows or feaſts, except on the late occaſion, were ever ſeen in his camp. The young men paſſed the greateſt part of their time in their exerciſes, and the old men in teaching them. The hours of leiſure were amuſed with cheerful diſcourſe, which had all the ſmartneſs of Laconic repartee. This kind of amuſement had thoſe advantages which we have mentioned in the life of Lycurgus.

The king himſelf was the beſt teacher. Plain and ſimple in his equipage and diet, aſſuming no manner of pomp above a common citizen, he ſet a glorious example of ſobriety. This was no ſmall advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addreſſed themſelves to other kings, they did not ſo much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and ſpirit of oſtentation; their difficulty of acceſs and harſhneſs of behaviour to all who had buſineſs at their courts. But when they applied

to

to Cleomenes, who not only bore the title, but had all the great qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no gauntlet of pages or door-keepers to be run. Nor had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries *; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts; and they declared he was the only worthy descendant of Hercules.

His common supper was short and truly Laconic. There were only couches for three people; but when he entertained ambassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious desert was added; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous. For he blamed one of his friends for setting nothing before strangers but the coarse cake and black broth, which they eat in their common refectories. "When we have strangers to entertain," said he, "we need not be such very "exact Lacedemonians." After supper, a three-legged stand † was brought in, upon which were placed a brass ‡ bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a § pint and a half a piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of the guests as were inclined to drink, made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music or other extrinsic amusement; nor was any such thing wanted. He entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation; sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness; and his mirth from petulance and rusticity. The arts which other princes used of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitious and impolitic. But to engage and fix people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king. For he thought this the true dif-

* In the text it is γραμματιων, by *billets*; but probably it should be read γραμματιων, *secretaries*, there being no instances in antiquity that have come to our knowledge, of answers in writing to a personal application.

† τριπους. ‡ κρατηρ. § διοτυλον.

ference between a hireling and a friend; that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The Mantineans were the first who applied for his assistance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having with his help expelled the Achæan garrison, put themselves under his protection. He re-established their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the same day to Tegea. From thence he fetched a compass through Arcadia, and marched down to Pheræ in Achaia; intending by this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for giving up the country, as it were, to his destroying sword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had all the authority. The Achæans assembled their forces, and encamped at Dymeæ * near Hecatombœum; upon which, Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was thought a rash step for him to take post between Dymeæ which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. However, he boldly challenged the Achæans, and, indeed, forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them, killed great numbers upon the spot, and took many prisoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garrison, and then put the town in the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous state, Aratus, who used to be general every other year †, refused the command, though they pressed him strongly to accept it. But certainly it was wrong, when such a storm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The first commands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies ‡ moderate enough; afterwards he insisted on having the command himself. In other matters, he said, he should

* Polybius calls it Dymæ.

† Εωθως παρ ἐνιαυτον αει στρατηγει. The former English translator renders this, *who used to continue general two years together*; and Dacier, to the same sense, *qui avoit accoutumé d'être capitaine general tous les deux ans*. But they are both under a great mistake. παρ' ἐνιαυτον does certainly signify *every other year*. So in Polybius, παρα τεταρτην ἡμεραν, *every fourth day*; and in Aristotle, παρα μηνα τριτον, *every third month*.

‡ The two French translators, and the English one employed by Tonson, change μετρια here into ἐ μετρια, without any necessity, or pretence of authority for it. We do not see why Cleomenes might not, in the first conditions he proposed, possibly demand something less of the Achæans than their allowing him to be commander in chief, and governor of all Greece.

ſhould not differ with them, for he would reſtore them both the priſoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a pacification on theſe conditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna, where a general aſſembly of their ſtate was to be held. But Cleomenes haſtening his march too much, heated himſelf, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the conſequence of which was, that he threw up a great quantity of blood, and loſt the uſe of his ſpeech. He therefore ſent the Achæans the moſt reſpectable of the priſoners, and putting off the meeting, retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, ſhe might have recovered out of her preſent diſtreſs, and have maintained herſelf againſt the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared and diſtruſted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected ſucceſs. He thought it intolerable that a young man newly ſprung up ſhould rob him at once of the honour and power which he had been in poſſeſſion of for three-and-thirty years, and come into a government which had been growing ſo long under his auſpices. For this reaſon, he firſt tried what his intereſt and powers of perſuaſion would do to keep the Achæans from cloſing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him, by their admiration of the great ſpirit of Cleomenes, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans were not unreaſonable, who only deſired to bring Peloponneſus back to its ancient model. Aratus then undertook a thing which would not have become any man in Greece, but in him was particularly diſhonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct both in the cabinet and the field. He called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponneſus with Macedonians, though in his youth he had expelled them, and reſcued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy to all kings, and was equally hated by them. Antigonus, in particular, he loaded with a thouſand reproaches, as appears from the writings he has left behind him *. He boaſts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties, in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garriſon; and yet he brought thoſe very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, his own houſe, and even into the women's apartment. At the ſame time, he could not bear that a Spar-

* Aratus wrote a hiſtory of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

tan king, a deſcendant of Hercules, who wanted only to reſtore the ancient polity of his country, to correct its broken harmony, and bring it back to the ſober Doric tone * which Lycurgus had given it; he could not bear that ſuch a prince ſhould be declared general of the Sicyonians and Tricæans †. While he avoided the coarſe cake and the ſhort cloak; and what he thought the greateſt grievance in the whole ſyſtem of Cleomenes, the aboliſhing of riches, and the making poverty a more ſupportable thing, he made Achaia truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians, of Aſiatic grandees. To ſhun the appearance of ſubmiſſion to Cleomenes, he offered ſacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and, with a garland on his head, ſung *pæans* in honour of a rotten Macedonian. Theſe things we ſay not in accuſation of Aratus (for in many reſpects he was a great man and worthy of Greece) we mean only to point out with compaſſion the weakneſs of human nature, which, in diſpoſitions the beſt formed to virtue, can produce no excellence without ſome taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans aſſembled again at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained great hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already ſettled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted of the people, propoſed, "That he ſhould take three hundred "hoſtages for the ſecurity of his perſon, and enter the "town alone; or, if he did not approve of that propoſal, "ſhould come to the place of exerciſe without the walls, "called *Cyllarabium* ‡, and treat there, at the head of his "army." Cleomenes remonſtrated that theſe proceedings were very unjuſt. He ſaid, "They ſhould have "made him theſe propoſals at firſt, and not now, when "he was come to their gates, diſtruſt and ſhut him out." He therefore wrote the Achæans a letter on this ſubject, almoſt filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives againſt the king of Sparta. The conſequence of this

* The muſic, like the architecture of the Dorians, was remarkable for its ſimplicity.

† This, probably, ſhould be Tritæans. Trites was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; but Tricca, which was in Theſſaly, could hardly be ſo.

‡ From Cyllarabus, the ſon of Sthenelus.

this was, that the latter quickly retired, and sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans. This herald, according to Aratus, was sent not to Argos, but to Ægium *, in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared.

There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league; and many towns were ready to fall off. For the common people hoped for an equal distribution of lands, and to have their debts cancelled; while the better sort in general were displeased at Aratus, and some of them highly provoked at his bringing the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he first took Pellene by surprise, and dislodged the Achæan garrison. Afterwards he made himself master of Pheneum and Penteleum. As the Achæans were apprehensive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they sent a body of cavalry and some mercenaries from Argos to guard against any measures tending that way, and went themselves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Upon this, Cleomenes hoping, what really proved the case, that, if he could come suddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes assembled to partake of the diversions, he should throw all into the greatest confusion, marched up to the walls by night, and seized the quarter called *Aspis*, which lay above the theatre, notwithstanding its difficulty of access. This struck them with such terror, that not a man thought of making any resistance; they agreed to receive a garrison, and gave twenty of the citizens as hostages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the standard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince. For the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their interest; and Pyrrhus, one of the ablest generals in the world, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it, but lost his life in the attempt, and had great part of his army cut in pieces. Hence, the dispatch and keenness of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they, who before had laughed at him for declaring he would tread in the steps

* This was a maritime town of Achaia, on the Corinthian Bay. The intention of Cleomenes was to take it by surprise, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of the war.

of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts, and in an equal division of property, were now fully persuaded that he was the sole cause of all the change in the spirit and success of the Spartans. In both respects they were so contemptible before, and so little able to help themselves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thousand slaves. On which occasion, one of the old Spartans said, "The enemy had done them a "kindness, in taking such a heavy charge off their hands." Yet they had no sooner returned to their primitive customs and discipline, than, as if Lycurgus himself had restored his polity, and invigorated it with his presence, they had given the most extraordinary instances of valour and obedience to their magistrates, in raising Sparta to its ancient superiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponnesus.

Cleonæ and Phlius * came in the same tide of success with Argos. Aratus was then making an inquisition at Corinth into the conduct of such as were reported to be in the Lacedemonian interest. But when the news of the late losses reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and wanted to get rid of the Achæans †, he was not a little alarmed. In this confusion he could think of no better expedient, than that of calling the citizens to council, and, in the mean time, he stole away to the gate. A horse being ready for him there, he mounted, and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in such haste to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that, Aratus tells us, they killed or spoiled all their horses. He acquaints us also, that Cleomenes highly blamed the people of Corinth for suffering him to escape. Nevertheless, he adds, that Megistonus came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large sums if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garrison. He answered, "That affairs did not then de-"pend upon him, but he must be governed by their cir-"cumstances." So Aratus himself writes.

Cleomenes, in his march from Argos, added the Trœzenians, the Epidaurians and Hermonians to the number of

* Towns between Argos and Corinth.

† In the printed text it is, Αχαιων μεταλλαγηκαι βυλομενων and the Latin and French translators have followed it; rendering it to this sense, *and the Achæans were hastening home:* but two manuscripts give us βυλομενην, which is to be referred to πολιν before; and, with the former English translator, we choose to follow that reading.

of his friends and allies, and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achæans refuſed to ſurrender. However, he ſent for the friends and ſtewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his houſe and effects in that city. He likewiſe ſent again to that general by Tritymallus the Meſſenian, and propoſed that the citadel ſhould be garriſoned half with Achæans and half with Lacedemonians; offering, at the ſame time, to double the penſion he had from Ptolemy king of Egypt. As Aratus, inſtead of accepting theſe conditions, ſent his ſon and other hoſtages to Antigonus, and perſuaded the Achæans to give order that the citadel of Corinth ſhould be put in the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in purſuance of a decree of the Corinthians, ſeized on the whole eſtate of Aratus. After Antigonus had paſſed Gerania *, with a great army, Cleomenes thought it more adviſeable to fortify the Onæan mountains †, than the Iſthmus, and by the advantage of his poſt to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with a veteran phalanx. Antigonus was greatly perplexed at this plan of operations. For he had neither laid in a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, nor could he eaſily force the paſs by which Cleomenes had ſate down. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponneſus by the port of Lechæum ‡, but was repulſed with loſs.

Cleomenes was much encouraged with this ſucceſs, and his troops went to their evening's refreſhment with pleaſure. Antigonus, on the other hand, was extremely diſpirited; for he ſaw himſelf in ſo troubleſome a ſituation, that it was ſcarce poſſible to find any reſources, which were not extremely difficult. At laſt he determined to move to the promontory of Heræum, and from thence to tranſport his troops in boats to Sicyon: but that required a great deal of time, and very conſiderable preparations. However, the evening after, ſome of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by ſea, being ſent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and to invite

* A mountain between Megara and Corinth.

† This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as Mount Citheron. Strab. l. viii. They were called ὄρη ὀνικὰ, the mountains of aſſes.

‡ One of the harbours at Corinth.

him to that city. Ariſtotle was the author of the defection; and he had found no great difficulty in perſuading the people into it, becauſe Cleomenes had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them room to hope. Upon this, Aratus, with fifteen hundred men whom he had from Antigonus, ſailed to Epidaurus. But Ariſtotle, not waiting for him, aſſembled the townſmen, and with the aſſiſtance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon, attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes getting intelligence of this about the ſecond watch of the night, ſent for Megiſtonus, and, in an angry tone, ordered him to the relief of Argos: For he it was who had principally undertaken for the obedience of the Argives, and, by that means, prevented the expulſion of ſuch as were ſuſpected. Having diſpatched Megiſtonus upon this buſineſs, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to diſpel the fears of the Corinthians, aſſuring them it was no great thing that had happened at Argos, but only an inconſiderable tumult. Megiſtonus got into Argos, and was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh there; the garriſon were hard preſſed, and meſſenger after meſſenger ſent to Cleomenes. Upon this, he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themſelves maſters of Argos, would block up the paſſages againſt him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleaſure, and beſiege Sparta itſelf, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth; the conſequence of which was the loſs of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garriſon there. In the mean time, Cleomenes having collected his forces, which were ſcattered in their march, attempted to ſcale the walls of Argos; but, failing in that enterpriſe, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called *Aſpis*, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garriſon, which ſtill held out againſt the Achæans. After this, he took ſome other quarters of the city by aſſault; and ordering his Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the ſtreets of the enemy. But when he ſaw Antigonus deſcending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it impoſſible to maintain his poſt. He had now no other reſource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loſs. Thus, after atchieving the greateſt things in a ſhort ſpace of time, and making himſelf maſter of almoſt all Peloponneſus in one campaign, he loſt all in leſs

time

time than he gained it; ſome cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others ſurrendering themſelves not long after to Antigonus.

Such was the ill ſucceſs of this expedition. And what was no leſs a misfortune, as he was marching home, meſſengers from Lacedemon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife. His affection and eſteem for Agiatis was ſo great, that, amidſt the current of his happieſt ſucceſs, he could not ſtay from her a whole campaign, but often repaired to Sparta. No wonder, then, that a young man, deprived of ſo beautiful and virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loſs. Yet his ſorrow did not debaſe the dignity of his mind. He ſpoke in the ſame accent; he preſerved the ſame dreſs and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the ſecurity of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedemon, and after paying a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himſelf to the concerns of ſtate. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furniſh him with ſuccours; but it was on condition that he ſent him his mother and children as hoſtages. This circumſtance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but could not go forward. She began to ſuſpect that there was ſomething which he was afraid to open to her; and ſhe aſked his friends what it might be. At laſt he ventured to tell her; upon which, ſhe laughed very pleaſantly, and ſaid, "Was this the thing which you "have ſo long heſitated to expreſs? Why do not you im"mediately put us on board a ſhip, and ſend this carcaſe of "mine where you think it may be of moſt uſe to Sparta, "before age renders it good for nothing, and ſinks it into "the grave?"

When every thing was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Tænarus; the army conducting them to that port. Cratesiclea being on the point of taking ſhip, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where ſeeing him in great emotion and concern, ſhe threw her arms about him, and ſaid, "King of Sparta, take care "that when we go out, no one perceive us weeping, "or doing any thing unworthy that glorious place. This "alone is in our power; the event is in the hands of "God." After ſhe had given him this advice, and compoſed her countenance, ſhe went on board, with her little

grandſon in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to ſea as ſoon as poſſible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, ſhe underſtood that Ptolemy had received ambaſſadors from Antigonus, and ſeemed to liſten to his propoſals; and, on the other hand, ſhe was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achæans to a pacification, was afraid, on her account, to put an end to the war, without Ptolemy's conſent. In this difficulty ſhe wrote to her ſon, to deſire him "To do what he "thought moſt advantageous and honourable for Sparta, "and not for the ſake of an old woman and a child, to "live always in fear of Ptolemy." So great was the behaviour of Crateſiclea under adverſe fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomanus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now ſhut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchiſed ſuch of the *helots* as could pay fifty attic *minæ* for their liberty. By this expedient he raiſed five talents; and having, moreover, armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thouſand of thoſe *helots*, whom he deſigned to oppoſe the *Leucaſpides* of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterpriſe. Megalopolis was at that time as great and powerful a city as Sparta. It was ſupported, beſides, by the Achæans and Antigonus, whoſe troops lay on each ſide of it. Indeed, the Megalopolitans were the foremoſt and moſt eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes reſolved to ſurpriſe; for which purpoſe he ordered his men to take five days proviſions, and led them to Sellaſia, as if he deſigned an inroad into the territories of Argos. But he turned ſhort, and entered thoſe of Megalopolis; and, after having refreſhed his troops at Rhœtium, he marched, by Helicon *, directly to the object he had in view. When he was near it, he ſent Panteus before with two companies of Lacedemonians, to ſeize that part of the wall which was between the two towers, and which he underſtood to be leaſt guarded. He followed with the reſt of his army at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but great part of the wall without defence, pulled it down in ſome places, undermined it in others, and put all the centinels to the ſword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city

* Lubinus thinks it ought to be read Heliſſon, there being no ſuch place as Helicon in Arcadia.

city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no sooner apprised of the misfortune which had befallen them, than the greatest part left the city, taking their money and most valuable effects with them. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the enemy, yet their resistance gave their fellow citizens opportunity to escape. There remained not above a thousand men in the town, all the rest having retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before there was any possibility of pursuing them. A considerable part even of those who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prisoners. Of this number were Lysandridas and Thearidas, two persons of great name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were such respectable men, the soldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lysandridas no sooner saw Cleomenes than he thus addressed him. "Now," said he, in a loud voice, because it was at a distance, "now, king of Sparta, you "have opportunity to do an action much more glorious "and princely than the late one, and to acquire immortal "honour." Cleomenes guessing at his aim, made answer; "You would not have me restore you the town?" "That is the very thing," said Lysandridas, "I would pro- "pose. I advise you, by all means, not to destroy so fine "a city, but to fill it with firm friends and faithful allies, "by restoring the Megalopolitans to their country, and "becoming the saviour of so considerable a people." Cleomenes paused awhile, and then replied, "This is hard "to believe; but be it as it will, let glory with us have "always greater weight than interest." In consequence of this determination, he sent the two men to Messene, with a herald in his own name, to make the Megalopolitans an offer of their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themselves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes made so gracious and humane a proposal, Philopœmen would not suffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league*, but assuring them that the king of Sparta, instead of inclining to restore them their city, wanted to get the citizens too into his power, he forced Thearidas and Lysandridas to leave

* Polybius bestows great and just encomiums on this conduct of the Megalopolitans, l. 11.

Meſſene. This is that Philopœmen, who afterwards was the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his life) one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages among the Greeks.

Upon this news, Cleomenes, who hitherto had kept the houſes and goods of the Megalopolitans with ſuch care, that not the leaſt thing was embezzled, was enraged to ſuch a degree, that he plundered the whole, ſent the ſtatues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the greateſt and beſt parts of the city with the ground. After this, he marched home again, being under ſome apprehenſions that Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They, however, made no motion towards it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the *roſtrum* on that occaſion, where he wept a long time, with his robe before his face. They were all greatly ſurpriſed, and deſired him to ſpeak. At laſt, he ſaid, "Megalopo-"lis is deſtroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were aſtoniſhed at ſo great and ſudden a ſtroke, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made great efforts to go to the relief of the place; but, as his troops aſſembled ſlowly from their winter quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with the forces he had with him.

This made the ſecond enterpriſe of Cleomenes appear raſh and deſperate: but Polybius*, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with great prudence and foreſight. For knowing (as he tells us) that the Macedonians were diſperſed in winter quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city; in the perſuaſion that either the ſhame of ſuffering ſuch an inroad, would provoke Antigonus to battle, and expoſe him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into diſrepute with the Argives. The event juſtified his expectation. When the people of Argos ſaw their country laid waſte, every thing that was valuable deſtroyed or carried off, they ran in great diſpleaſure to the king's gates, and beſieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or elſe give place to his ſuperiors. Antigonus, however, like a wiſe and able general, thought the cenſures of ſtrangers no diſgrace, in compariſon of his quitting a place of ſecurity, and raſhly hazard-

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* Polybius, lib. ii.

ing a battle, and therefore he abode by his firſt reſolutions. Cleomenes, in the mean time, marched up to the very walls, inſulted his enemies, and, before he retired, ſpread, deſolation at his pleaſure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a deſign to enter Laconia on that ſide. Upon this emergency, he put his troops under march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with ſcythes and ſickles, as people uſually do, but beat it down with wooden inſtruments in the form of ſcymitars, as if this deſtruction was only an amuſement to his ſoldiers in their march. Yet when they would have ſet fire to Cyllarabis, the ſchool of exerciſe, he prevented it, reflecting that the ruin of Megalopolis was dictated rather by paſſion than by reaſon.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the paſſes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmoſt contempt, ſent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might ſacrifice to the goddeſs. After he had pleaſed himſelf with this inſult on the enemy, and offered his ſacrifice under the walls of the temple which was faſt ſhut up, he led his troops off Phlius. In his march from thence he diſlodged the garriſon of Ologuntum, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inſpired his people with freſh [illegible] rage, but came to be conſidered by the enemy as a moſt able general, and a man capable of the greateſt undertakings. For, with the ſtrength of the ſingle city to oppoſe the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponneſians, and all the treaſures of the king; and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry devaſtation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and ſpirit.

He who firſt called money the *ſinews of buſineſs*, ſeems principally to have had reſpect to that of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treaſury was very low, told them, "They muſt think of baking bread, before they thought "of an embarkation." It is alſo ſaid that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, when the allies deſired that the quota of each ſhould be determined, made anſwer, that "War cannot be kept at a ſet "diet."

"a diet." And in this case we may justly say, that as wrestlers, strengthened by long exercise, do at last tire out those who have equal skill and agility, but not the exercise; so Antigonus coming to the war with vast funds, in process of time tired out and overcame Cleomenes, who could but in a very slender manner pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other respects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being drawn home by the bad posture of his affairs. For in his absence the barbarians invaded and ravaged all Macedonia. The Illyrians in particular, descending with a great army from the north, harassed the Macedonians so much, that they were forced to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewell. But fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, showed on this occasion of what consequence a moment of time may be *. As soon as the battle of Sellasia † was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers came to call Antigonus home. This was a great aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans on what conditions he pleased. But such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and, therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men was forced to challenge thirty thousand.

He showed himself an excellent general in the whole course of the action; his Spartans behaved with great spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill. His defeat was owing to the superior advantage the Macedonians had in

* Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

† Polybius has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand; but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible, and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitring his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, for want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action, and was beaten. POL. lib. xi.

in their armour, and to the weight and impetuosity of their *phalanx*.

Phylarchus, indeed, assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers, that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to fetch a compass, and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marshalling the rest of his army. Cleomenes taking a view from an eminence of his adversary's disposition, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Acarnarians were posted, and begun to fear they were designed for some such manœuvre. He therefore called Damoteles, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the movements they intended. Damoteles, who is said to have been bribed by Antigonus, assured him that "He had nothing to fear from that quarter, for all "was safe in the rear; nor was there any thing more to "be done but to bear down upon the front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, attacked Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so much vigour, that they made the Macedonian *phalanx* give ground, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped, and cried out, "Thou art lost, my dear brother, "thou are lost, in spite of all thy valour! but great is "thy example to our Spartan youth; and the songs of our "matrons shall for ever record thee *!"

Euclidas, and the wing he commanded, thus being slain, the victors fell upon Cleomenes; who seeing his men in great confusion, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said that great numbers of the mercenaries were killed; and that of six thousand Lacedemonians, no more than two hundred were saved.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," said he, "I am willing "either to live or to die, as the one or the other may be "most for the interest of my country." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men who had escaped with him,

* He acted like a brave soldier, but not like a skilful officer. Instead of pouring upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he stood still, and suffered the Macedonians to cut off his retreat.

him, help to take off their armour, and present them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into his house a young woman, who was a native of Megalopolis, and free-born, but fell into his hands at the sack of the place. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his return from the field. But though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down; he only leaned his elbow against a pillar, and his head upon it, armed as he was; and having rested a few moments, while he considered what course to take, he repaired to Gythium with his friends. There they went on board vessels provided for the purpose, and immediately put out to sea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta surrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unsuitable to the dignity of their republic. For he offered them no kind of insult, but restored them their laws and polity; and after having sacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He was informed, indeed, that Macedonia was involved in a dangerous war; and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Besides, he was in a deep consumption, and had a continual defluxion upon the lungs. However, he bore up under his affliction, and wrestled with domestic wars, till a great victory and carnage of the barbarians made him die more glorious. Phylarchus tells us, (and it is not at all improbable) that he burst a vessel in his lungs with shouting in the battle: though it passed in the schools, that, in expressing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the isle of Cythera, where Cleomenes first touched, he sailed to another island called Ægialia. There he had formed a design to pass over to Cyrene, when one of his friends, named Therycion, a man of a high and intrepid spirit on all occasions, and one who always indulged himself in a lofty and haughty turn of expression, came privately to Cleomenes, and thus addressed him: "We have "lost, my prince, the most glorious death, which we might "have found in the battle; though the world had heard "us boast that Antigonus should never conquer the king of "Sparta till he had slain him. Yet there is another exit "still offered us by glory and virtue. Whither then are "we so absurdly sailing? flying a death that is near, and

seek-

" ſeeking one that is remote. If it is not diſhonourable " for the deſcendents of Hercules to ſerve the ſucceſſors of " Philip and Alexander, why do not we ſave ourſelves a " long voyage, by making our ſubmiſſion to Antigonus, " who, in all probability, as much excels Ptolemy, as the " Macedonians do the Egyptians? But, if we do not " chooſe to be governed by a man who beat us in the " field, why do we take one who never conquered us, for " our maſter? Is it that we may ſhow our inferiority to " two, inſtead of one, by flying before Antigonus, and " then going to flatter Ptolemy? Shall we ſay that you " go into Egypt for the ſake of your mother? It will " be a glorious and happy thing for her, to ſhow " Ptolemy's wives her ſon, of a king becoming a captive " and an exile. No! while we are yet maſters of our " ſwords, and are yet in ſight of Laconia, let us deliver " ourſelves from this miſerable fortune, and make our ex- " cuſe for our paſt behaviour to thoſe brave men who fell " for Sparta at Sellaſia. Or ſhall we rather ſit down in " Egypt, and inquire whom Antigonus has left governor " of Lacedemon?".

Thus Therycion ſpoke, and Cleomenes made this an- ſwer: "Doſt thou think, then, wretch that thou art, doſt " thou think, that by running into the arms of death, " than which nothing is more eaſy to find, to ſhow thy " courage and fortitude? And doſt thou not conſider, that " this flight is more daſtardly than the former? Better " men than we have given way to their enemies, being " either overſet by fortune, or oppreſſed by numbers. " But he who gives out either for fear of labour and " pain, or of the opinions and tongues of men, falls a " victim to his own cowardice. A voluntary death ought " to be an action, not a retreat from action. For it is " an ungenerous thing either to live or to die to ourſelves. " All that thy expedient could poſſibly do, would be only " the extricating us from our preſent misfortunes, without " anſwering any purpoſe either of honour or utility. But " I think neither thou nor I ought to give up all hopes " for our country. If thoſe hopes ſhould deſert us, death, " when we ſeek for him, will not be hard to find." Therycion made no reply; but the firſt opportunity he had to leave Cleomenes, he walked down to the ſhore, and ſtabbed himſelf.

Cleomenes,

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and ſailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was firſt introduced to Ptolemy*, that prince behaved to him with ſufficient kindneſs and humanity; but when, upon farther trial of him, he found what ſtrength of underſtanding he had, and that his laconic and ſimple way of converſing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleaſantry; when he ſaw that he did not, in any inſtance whatever, diſhonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleaſure in his diſcourſe, than in the mean ſacrifices of complaiſance and flattery. He greatly repented, too, and bluſhed at the thought of having neglected ſuch a man, and given him up to Antigonus, who, by conquering him, had acquired ſo much power and glory. He, therefore, encouraged him now with every mark of attention and reſpect, and promiſed to ſend him back to Greece with a fleet and ſupply of money, to re-eſtabliſh him in his kingdom. His preſent appointments amounted to four and-twenty talents by the year. Out of this he maintained himſelf and his friends in a ſober and frugal manner, and beſtowed the reſt in offices of humanity to ſuch Greeks as had left their country and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died before he could put his intentions in favour of Cleomenes in execution; and the court ſoon becoming a ſcene of debauchery, where women had the ſway, the buſineſs of Cleomenes was neglected. For the † king was ſo much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more ſober and ſerious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of myſteries. and the beating a drum with his royal hands about the palace; while the great affairs of ſtate were left to his miſtreſs Agathoclea, and her mother, and Oenanthes, the infamous miniſter of his pleaſures. It appears, however, that at firſt ſome uſe was made of Cleomenes. For Ptolemy being afraid of his brother Magas, who, through his mother's intereſt, ſtood well with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a conſultation in his cabinet: the ſubject of which was, whether he ſhould deſtroy his brother. All the reſt voted for it, but Cleomenes oppoſed it ſtrongly. He ſaid, "The "king, if it were poſſible, ſhould have more brothers, "for the greater ſecurity of the crown. and the better management

* Ptolemy Euergetes. † Ptolemy Philopater.

"management of affairs." And when Sosibius, the king's principal favourite, replied, "That the mercenaries could "not be depended on, while Magas was alive," Cleomenes desired them to give themselves no pain about that; "For," said he, "above three thousand of the mercenaries "are Peloponnesians, who, upon a nod from me, will be "ready with their arms." Hence Ptolemy, for the present, looked upon Cleomenes not only as a fast friend, but as a man of power; but his weakness afterwards increasing his timidity, as is common with people of little understanding, he began to place his security in jealousy and suspicion. His ministers were of the same stamp; and they considered Cleomenes as an object of fear, on account of his interest with the mercenaries; insomuch that many were heard to say, "That he was a lion among a flock of "sheep." Such, indeed, he seemed to be in the court, where, with a silent severity of aspect, he observed all that passed.

In these circumstances, he made no more applications for ships or troops. But being informed that Antigonus was dead; that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians; and that affairs called strongly for his presence, in the trouble and distraction that then reigned in Peloponnesus, he desired only a conveyance thither for himself and his friends. Yet no man listened to him. The king, who spent his time in all kinds of Bacchanalian revels with women, could not possibly hear him. Sosibius, the prime minister, thought Cleomenes must prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt against his will; and that it was not safe to dismiss him, because of his bold and enterprising spirit; and because he had been an eye-witness to the distempered state of the kingdom. For it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the ox Apis, though revelling, to all appearance, in every delight that he can desire, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him; wants to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure; and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him; so Cleomenes could not be satisfied with a soft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

> Consuming cares lay heavy on his mind:
> In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
> And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul. Pope.

While

While his affairs were in this posture, Nicagoras the Messenian, a man who concealed the most rancorous hatred of Cleomnes, under the pretence of friendship, came to Alexandria. It seems, he had formerly sold him a handsome piece of ground; and the king, either through want of money, or his continual engagements in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, saw this Nicagoras just landing from a merchantman, and saluting him with great kindness, asked "What business had brought him to "Egypt." Nicagoras returned the compliment with equal appearance of friendship, and answered, "I am bringing "some fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, "I could rather have wished that you had brought "him some female musicians and pathics, for those are the "presents that the king likes best." Nicagoras, at that time, only smiled; but in a few days after he put Cleomenes in mind of the field he had sold him, and desired he might now be paid; pretending, "That he would not have given "him any trouble about it, if he had not found considerable loss in the disposal of his merchandise." Cleomenes assured him, "That he had nothing left of what "the kings of Egypt had given him;" upon which Nicagoras, in disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would exasperate Ptolemy still more, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter, asserting, that "if the Spartan prince had received a supply of ships and "men from the King of Egypt's bounty, he would have "made use of them in seizing Cyrene for himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days after, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if just come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a great affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king's, had all along behaved to Cleomenes with great civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes,

menes, in this diſtreſs, deſired the ſon of Chryſermus, to come and ſpeak to him. He came, and talked to him plauſibly enough, endeavouring to diſpel his ſuſpicions, and to apologiſe for the king. But, as he was going out of the apartment, without obſerving that Cleomenes followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a ſevere reprimand, "for looking ſo careleſsly after a wild beaſt, who, "if he eſcaped, in all probability could be taken no more." Cleomenes having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon this, they all diſmiſſed their former hopes, and, taking the meaſures which anger dictated, they reſolved to revenge themſelves of Ptolemy's injurious and inſolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, inſtead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar. For they thought it an inſufferable thing that Cleomenes, after he had diſdained to come to terms with Antigonus, a brave warrior, and a man of action, ſhould ſit expecting his fate from a prince who aſſumed the character of a prieſt of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aſide his drum, and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of ſport in putting him to death.

After they had taken their reſolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus, they propagated a report, that, by the king's order, Cleomenes was to be releaſed; and as it was the cuſtom of the kings of Egypt to ſend thoſe to whom they deſigned to extend ſuch grace, a ſupper, and other tokens of friendſhip, the friends of Cleomenes made ample proviſion for the purpoſe, and ſent it to the gate. By this ſtratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined that the whole was ſent by the king. Cleomenes then offered a ſacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and afterwards ſat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers ſhould have large portions to regale them. It is ſaid, that he ſet about his enterpriſe ſooner than he intended, becauſe he found that one of the ſervants who was in the ſecret, had been out all night with his miſtreſs. Fearing, therefore, that a diſcovery might be made, about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night ſtill kept the guards faſt aſleep, he put on his military tunic, having firſt opened the ſeam of the left ſhoulder, and ruſhed out ſword in

hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number, and accoutred in the same manner.

One of them, named Hippotas, though lame, at first, was enabled by the spirit of the enterprise, to keep pace with them; but afterwards perceiving, that they went slower on his account, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole scheme by waiting for a man who could do them no service. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading an horse in the street; they took it, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. They had just spirit enough to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not a man of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him, and dispatched him. Another Ptolemy, who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot: they attacked and dispersed his officers and guards; and, dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the sword. Then they marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison, and join the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party. But the keepers had prevented them by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus disappointed again, roamed up and down the city; and he found that not a single man would join him; but all avoided him, as they would avoid infection.

He, therefore, stopped, and said to his friends, "It is "no wonder that women govern a people who fly from "liberty;" adding, "That he hoped they would all die in "a manner that would reflect no dishonour upon him, or "on their own atchievements." Hippotas desired one of the younger men to dispatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterwards each of them, without fear or delay, fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis, when it was taken by surprise. He was in the flower of his age; remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline; which perfections had given him a great share in the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to dispatch himself, till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay,

lay, leſt ſome one ſhould happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contorſion in his face. He, therefore, kiſſed him, and ſate down by him till the breath was out of his body; and then embracing the corpſe, ſlew himſelf upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes, after he had been ſixteen years king of Sparta, and ſhowed himſelf in all reſpects the great man. When the report of his death had ſpread over the city, Crateſiclea, though a woman of ſuperior fortitude, ſunk under the weight of the calamity; ſhe embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The elder of them diſengaging himſelf from her arms, got unſuſpected to the top of the houſe, and threw himſelf down headlong. The child was not killed, but much hurt; and, when they took him up, he loudly expreſſed his grief and indignation that they would not ſuffer him to deſtroy himſelf.

Ptolemy was no ſooner informed of theſe things, than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a croſs, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother, and the women her companions. Amongſt theſe was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a moſt majeſtic preſence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidſt the firſt tranſports of love. When her huſband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, ſhe was deſirous of accompanying him; but was prevented by her parents, who kept her in cloſe cuſtody. But ſoon after, ſhe provided herſelf a horſe, and a little money, and, making her eſcape by night, rode at full ſpeed to Tænarus, and there embarked on board a ſhip bound for Egypt. She was brought ſafe to Panteus, and ſhe cheerfully ſhared with him in all the inconveniences they found in a foreign country. When the ſoldiers came to take out Crateſiclea to execution, ſhe led her by the hand, aſſiſted in bearing her robe, and deſired her to exert all the courage ſhe was miſtreſs of; though ſhe was far from being afraid of death, and deſired no other favour than that ſhe might die before her children. But when they came to the place of execution, the children ſuffered before her eyes, and then Cratiſiclea was diſpatched, who, in this extreme diſtreſs, uttered only theſe words, "O! my chil-
" dren! whither are you gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and ſtrong, girt her robe about her, and, in a ſilent and compoſed manner, paid

the laſt offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her preſent circumſtances would permit. Laſt of all, ſhe prepared herſelf for the poinard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjuſted it in ſuch a manner as to need no aſſiſtance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other perſon to approach her, ſhe fell like a heroine. In death ſhe retained all the decorum ſhe had preſerved in life; and the decency which had been ſo ſacred with this excellent woman, ſtill remained about her. Thus, in this bloody tragedy, wherein the women contended to the laſt for the prize of courage with the men, Lacedemon ſhowed that *it is impoſſible for fortune to conquer virtue.*

A few days after, the ſoldiers who watched the body of Cleomenes on the croſs *, ſaw a great ſnake winding about his head, and covering all his face, ſo that no bird of prey durſt touch it. This ſtruck the king with ſuperſtitious terrors, and make way for the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now perſuaded that he had cauſed the death of a perſon who was a favourite of heaven, and ſomething more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a ſon of the gods, till the philoſophers put a ſtop to their devotions, by aſſuring them, that, as dead oxen breed bees †, horſes waſps ‡, and beetles riſe out of the putrefaction of aſſes; ſo human carcaſes, when ſome of the moiſture of the marrow is evaporated, and it comes to a thicker conſiſtence, produce ſerpents §. The ancients knowing this doctrine, appropriated the ſerpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

* That the friends of the deceaſed might not take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius's Epheſian matron. *Miles qui cruces affervabat, ne quis ad ſepulturam corpora detraheret:* And thus we find in an authority we ſhall not mention at the ſame time with Petronius.

† This was the received opinion of antiquity, as we find in Varro, &c. &c.

‡ Preſſus humo bellator equus crabronis origo. OVID.

§ Sunt qui, cum clauſo putrefacta eſt ſpina ſepulchro;
Mutari credant humanas angue medullas. OVID.

The above verſes ſeem to be taken from ſome Greek lines of Archelaus, addreſſed to Ptolemy on the ſubject of ſerpents being generated from the corruption of the human body.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.